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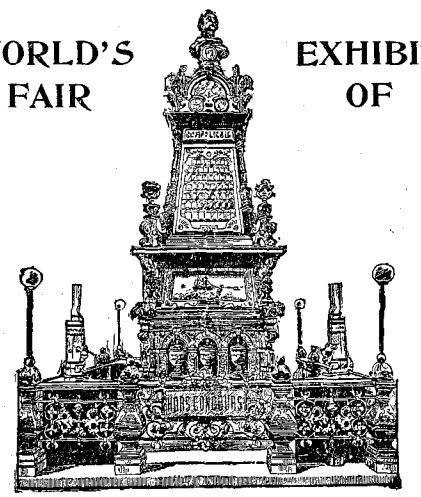

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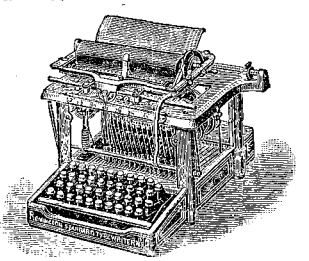

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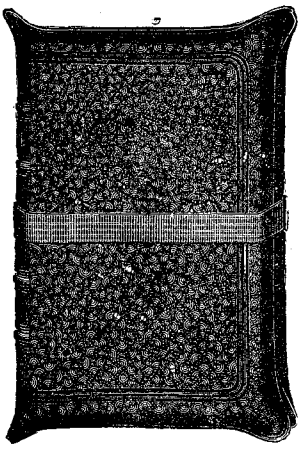

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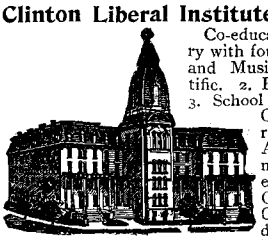

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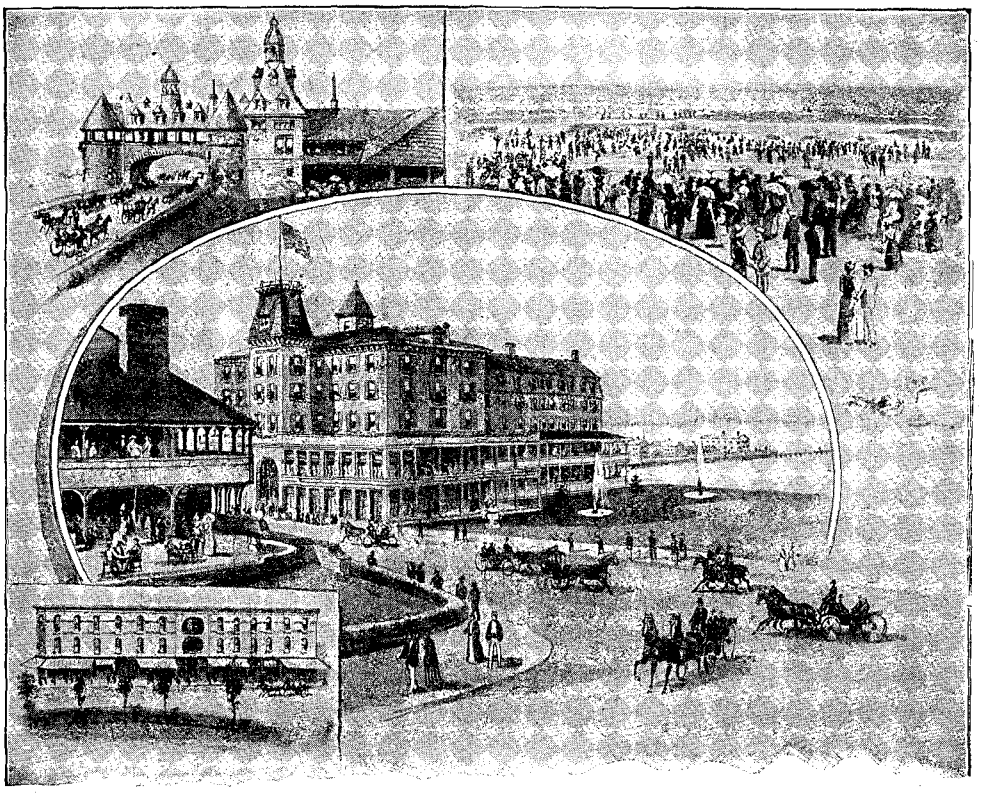

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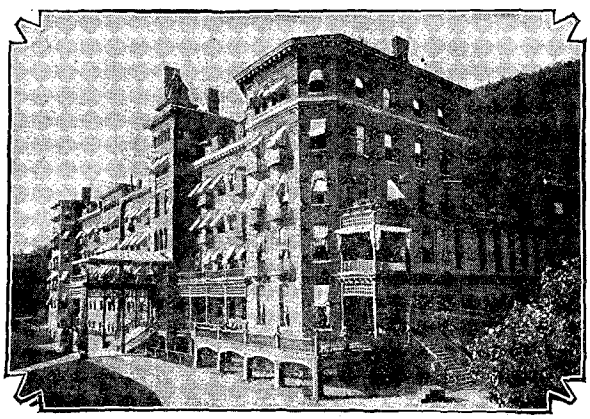

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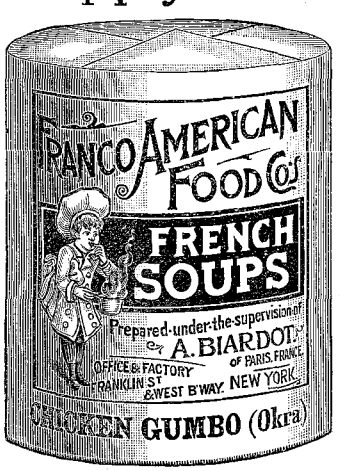

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The Forum

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THE DOWNFALL OF CERTAIN FINANCIAL FALLACIES.

It is doubtful if there has ever been a controverted economic or social question of importance, in which so much of error of assertion and assumption is involved, as has characterized the theories and statements of the advocates of the free coinage of silver; and, notwithstanding these same falsities have again and again been exposed, they continue to be put forth with so much of positiveness by men occupying high positions, that many intelligent persons, earnestly anxious to know the truth, have been unable to arrive at satisfactory conclusions. A renewed appeal to evidence that cannot be rationally contravened is, therefore, what is now specially needed; and to such an appeal in respect to some of the most important factors of the silver problem attention is invited.

Appreciation of Gold Fallacy. And first as to the assertion that the comparatively recent and continuous decline in prices has been due to an appreciation in the value or purchasing power of gold, owing to its limited and insufficient supply; also that this decline followed the demonetization of silver in some countries and the closing of the mints of other countries to its coinage. That there has been a great and universal decline in the prices of a great variety of commodities within the last thirty years, and that this decline is still in progress, is not to be questioned. In fact there has not been anything like it in the world's previous experience. Taking the average prices of staple commodities in the London market, the decline from 1867–77 to 1886 was about 31 per cent. Since this latter year, furthermore, the decline in general prices has been,

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with some reactions, continuous; and in Great Britain for the two years, 1890 and 1891, it was (according to the London "Economist") about 10.8 per cent. Since 1891, also, cotton, wheat, iron, copper, wool, leather and petroleum have touched the lowest general prices of the century. Estimates of the decline in prices based on American data are substantially in agreement with those deduced from English experiences.

It cannot, moreover, be disputed that this remarkable decline in the prices of commodities has been to a certain extent contemporaneous with a great decline in the market value of silver; and, as gold will now purchase more than ever before of these same commodities, is it not probable, if not absolutely certain, that the appreciation of gold and the decline in prices stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect? The case of the advocates of silver has, therefore, at the outset much of plausibility. But plausibility is not proof nor assumption truth; as is strikingly illustrated by the claim of the Reverend Jasper, pastor of the first colored church in Richmond, Va., that "the sun do move," and "the earth do stand still," and who has more of seeming facts in support of his faith than can be adduced by the advocates of the gold-appreciation theory. For cannot every one with eyes see the sun move up every morning in the east and move down every evening in the west? And if the earth moves nineteen miles every second, as the astronomer-bugs say, would not everything movable fly off its surface as mud from a revolving carriage-wheel? And as nothing does fly off, is it not certain that the earth stands still? Investigation in the case of the Reverend Jasper and the advocates of the gold-appreciation theory will, however, alike lead to different conclusions.

It is to be noted in the first place that the advocates of the latter theory, in stating what they assert to be the truth, never express themselves other than generally. In all that has been written or spoken on this subject, on either side of the Atlantic, that has fallen under my observation, no one has ever named a single commodity that has notably declined in price within the last thirty years and satisfactorily proved, or even attempted to prove, that its decline was due to the appreciation of gold. And the reason for such default is that it cannot be done. On the other hand, not a single commodity that has notably declined in price within that time can be named, in respect to which clear, abundant and specific evidence cannot be adduced in proof, that its decline has been due to decreased cost of

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production or distribution, or to changes in supply and demand occasioned by wholly fortuitous circumstances. Nobody furthermore has ever yet risen to explain the motive which has impelled the sellers of merchandise all over the world during the last thirty years, to take lower prices for their goods in the face of an unexampled abundance of capital and low rate of interest, except upon the issue of the struggle between supply and demand.

It is not a matter of reasonable doubt, that within the last thirty or forty years, man has attained such a greater control over the forces of nature and has so compassed their use, that he has been able to do far more work in a given time, and produce far more product, measured by quantity in ratio to a given amount of labor, than ever before. How great has been the average saving in the world's work of production and distribution cannot perhaps be accurately stated; but few investigators place it at less than forty per cent, and in some great branches of industry it has certainly amounted to seventy or eighty per cent. We have here, therefore, a natural, all-sufficient, and non-disputable cause of the remarkable decline in prices under consideration, and also of its continuance; and the only assignable and probable reason why the decline experienced has not been greater, is that decreased cost has occasioned increased demand and consumption, which to a considerable extent has antagonized the natural tendency to decline. Here again, we have abundant evidence in support of this view, inasmuch as no one can name any one of the great commodities that enter into the world's commerce—iron, steel, copper, cotton, wool, wheat, provisions, leather and the like—the *per capita* consumption of which has not greatly increased in all civilized countries, concurrently with a decline in its market price.

A few illustrations of the specific price experiences of certain commodities may further help to an understanding of this subject. Probably the most notable one is afforded by the metal aluminium. In 1856 it sold for $90 per pound; in 1887 for $8 and in 1889 for $2. Its present market price is about 50 cents. Will any one pretend that change in the relative prices or monetary uses of gold and silver have had any influence in occasioning such results? Yet the agencies which have been operative in the case of aluminium differ only in degree and not in kind from those which have occasioned decline in the prices of a great number of other commodities. Copper tea-kettles which sold in 1860 for $2.50 can now be bought for 75 cents; and this homely example illustrates the great decline which

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has taken place in the price of copper since 1880, *i.e.*, from 25 cents to 9 to 10 cents per pound; which the commercial world is agreed has been wholly due to the extraordinary productiveness of new American mines and new methods of mining and smelting, and which decline one of the most influential syndicates ever organized, with command of enormous capital, was utterly unable to prevent.

Consider next the recent price experiences of the four great commodities that either directly, or in their manufactured forms, constitute the bulk of the world's trade and commerce—namely iron, wheat, cotton, and wool. Pig-iron sold for $50 per ton in 1873; for $41 in 1880; and as good a grade can now be bought for $13. According to a report presented to the British Iron and Steel Association in June last, the increase of the world's production of pig-iron from 1877 to 1892 was 91.6 per cent, and for the United States 343 per cent—ratios far greater than any concurrent increase in the iron-consuming population; and latterly every year has closed with large accumulations of unsold stocks and a wonderful increase in capacity for production. A decline in the price of wheat has been almost continuous since 1885; and in July of the current year no one of the world's staple commodities was so cheap. Concurrent with and antecedent to this decline there has been a tendency for the stocks of wheat to accumulate in an extraordinary degree at all commercial centres. For the year 1891, the world's production of wheat is believed to have been 100,000,000 bushels greater than ever before; and during the present year (1893) its visible supply has been larger than it has ever been in the history of wheat speculation. Cotton was worth about 20 cents per pound in the paper currency of 1873, but now sells for from 7 to 8½ cents. Popular opinion, especially among Southern producers, inclines to attribute this great reduction in price to monetary changes, or to something that has happened in India, and to overlook the fact that the supply of cotton for many years has tended to exceed the world's requirements. Thus in the thirteen years from 1873 to 1886 the increase in supply is believed to have been at least 50 per cent; and in the two recent years, 1890 and 1891, when the world's demand for American cotton would have been satisfied with fifteen million bales, the United States produced about eighteen million, and of course the price of cotton everywhere fell. Can any one furthermore doubt that the recent decline in the price of wool to a lower yearly average than has heretofore been experienced has also a very close connection with the fact, that in the

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country affording the world's largest supply of wool—namely, Australia—the number of sheep has increased more than 50 per cent in the short space of six years? The supply of these four great commodities—iron, wheat, cotton, and wool—controls the cost of bread and breadstuffs generally, of all cotton and woollen fabrics, and of nearly all tools, machinery, ships, cars, and buildings; and an oversupply of them in excess of current demand (and to a much less extent than has actually occurred) will materially affect the market price of products whose average annual value cannot be less than $2,000,000,000.

The decline in the prices of commodities due to great reductions in recent years in their cost of transportation and distribution should also not be overlooked in this connection. In the case of railroad transportation there are few roads in the United States which within the last fifteen years have not reduced their rates from 10 to 50 per cent. The reduction in the cost of transporting wheat from Chicago to New York which has taken place since 1870 would alone make a difference of about 20 cents a bushel in its cost at the latter point; while contemporaneous reductions in ocean freights have further augmented this difference in the world's markets.

Again, if the appreciation of gold has been the cause of the decline of prices under consideration, the inference is irresistible that everything for sale, or exchangeable for money, ought to have experienced its influence; and that something of correspondence, as respects time and degree in resulting price movements, would have been recognized. And this is exactly what the advocates of silver claim has occurred. Thus in speeches recently made by the secretary and representative of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia—Mr. Heber Clark—he is reported as saying that "the fact that prices of practically all commodities have steadily declined, demonstrates that some one large force operating with equal pressure everywhere and simultaneously must be thrusting them downward"; and "that fact is the appreciation of gold." But nothing of the kind, as thus asserted, has happened. The decline in prices, although extensive, has fallen far short of embracing all commodities, and has not been manifested simultaneously. It has been mainly confined to those commodities whose production and distribution have been cheapened by new inventions and discoveries. Dividing such commodities into classes, it has been largest in those like the mining and smelting and working of metals in which new discoveries and inventions have been most numerous and successful. On the other hand, all that class of

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products which are exclusively or largely the result of handicrafts; which are not capable of rapid multiplication, or do not admit of increased economy in production, have as a rule exhibited no tendency to decline in price, but rather the reverse.

And then in respect to the one thing that is everywhere purchased and sold for money to a greater extent than any other, namely, labor, there can be no question that its price *measured in gold* has increased in a marked degree everywhere in the civilized world, during the last quarter of a century. Had the purchasing power of gold increased during this period, a given amount would have bought more labor and a fall in wages would have been inevitable. And if wages under such circumstances have risen, the cheapening of commodities could not have been due to a scarcity of gold. Measured by the price of labor, therefore, gold has unquestionably depreciated; and can anybody suggest a better measure for testing the issue?

There is, furthermore, no foundation for the assertion that there has been anything like a simultaneous decline in prices due to the appreciation of gold; and no one can name any two commodities whose price experiences during the period of decline have harmonized either in respect to time or degree. The prices of some staple commodities fell rapidly after the alleged demonetization of silver in 1873; while the prices of others, although subjected to the same gold-scarcity influence, exhibited for a long time comparatively little or no disturbance; and such results are exactly what might have been expected from, and can be explained by, conditions of supply and demand, which vary constantly with time, place, and circumstance.

One of the most curious and instructive illustrations of this is afforded by the price experiences of hogs, which fluctuate more rapidly and extremely than those of almost any other product of the United States, and are dependent upon the supply and price of corn. If the corn crop is large and its price low, the supply of hogs increases, and their price rapidly declines. If the crop is short and corn is high, the price of hogs rapidly increases. Thus in 1860, the average price per hog in Chicago was $4.45; in 1870 it was $7; in 1880 it went back to $4.58, and in the early months of 1893 it was $6.41. And yet in view of all this evidence, which might be greatly amplified, the number of persons, who far from regarding themselves as "cranks" and fanatics, persistently attribute all the various and enormous fluctuations in prices since 1873 to an appreciation and scarcity of gold, is still very considerable.

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An attempt has been made to invalidate this reasoning by asserting that prices in countries like India, which have maintained the silver standard, have remained unchanged. Such a statement has something of plausibility, but nothing of truth. The commodities which have notably declined in price are those of highly civilized countries, the production of which has been greatly modified by new conditions or processes. They are largely machinery-products. The products of the half-civilized, monometallic silver countries, on the other hand, are mainly the results of handicrafts, which have not changed. Such countries invent nothing, take out no patents, and rarely use modern machinery except so far as it is forced upon them by alien people. That *all* the prices of such countries have not changed, is untrue. So far as the influences which have affected prices in the highly civilized countries have extended to countries of lower civilization the results have been the same. Testimony was given to the recent British Commission on Indian currency, that within the last twenty years half of the silver prices of commodities in India have risen, and the other half fallen. Wheat has increased in price in India because railways, steamers and the Suez Canal have enabled it to enter markets which twenty years ago were absolutely closed to it. Cotton has fallen in India, because the decline in the price of this commodity in the United States, owing to excessive production, has controlled the price of the world. Rice is a monopoly for India, the same as corn is to the United States, and its price has fluctuated since 1870–75, according to its annual crop supply, to the extent of 50 per cent. Indian opium has greatly declined in price because the Chinese are growing their own supply. The gold price of India (Ceylon) tea rose steadily between 1880 and 1885, and has ever since continued to decline, by reason of a recent enormous increase (66,000,000 lbs.) in its annual product. The average price of hides (cow) in India declined between 1887 and 1892 in the ratio of 87 to 66. Three India products of minor importance—saltpetre, shellac, and raw silk—have also fallen in price since 1875, while linseed, jute, and gunny bags have risen. Another fact of interest brought out by the British Commission of Inquiry is, that while the export trade of silver-rupee-using countries—as India, Ceylon, and Mauritius—shows but a slight increase or an actual decline in recent years, the gold-standard countries to be compared with India show a very great increase.

HAS THE DECLINE IN PRICES BEEN A CALAMITY? By the so-called friends of silver, and by many "bi-metallists," the fall of prices

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is generally regarded as an unmitigated evil, which it is the business of government to counteract by some form of currency inflation; and by the advocates of the free coinage of silver, a resulting increase in prices is promised, as a certain sequence of the adoption of their policy. An analysis of the elements involved in this problem will not be confirmatory of any such conclusions. A decline in prices by reason of an impairment of the ability of the people of any country to purchase and consume, through poverty or pestilence; or by reason of the misapplication of labor and capital, *i.e.*, waste, or production in excess of any current demand; or from speculative influences, or the use of poor and costly media of exchange, whether such media take the form of poor roads, poor wagons-[1] poor railroad cars, poor ships, or from poor or bad money, is certainly an evil. But a decline in prices caused by greater economy and effectiveness in manufacture and greater skill and economy in distribution, in place of being a calamity is a blessing and a benefit to all mankind. The first and great object of what is termed civilization is to increase the abundance of things material; to give to the masses a greater control and use of the essentials of living and comfort with a decreased effort of labor, or expenditure of capital; and the surest index of the progress of civilization is the rapidity with which the attainment of these results is effected. If the recent great decline in prices has been mainly due, as it certainly has been, to a greater knowledge, control, and use of the forces of nature, do the advocates of and believers in *dearness* imagine that they can arrest or reverse the influences that have worked and are going to continue to work for *cheapness* in respect to the production and supply of the world's commodities, by any enlarged use of silver as money? The effect would be as impotent as the reported attempt of Mrs. Partington to push back the swelling tides of the Atlantic with her mop; and as regards temporary results, if the growers of cotton, or wheat, or the producers of iron, or copper or any other commodity offer in the world's market a supply of their products greater than is needed for current consumption, it will be the price that the surplus not needed will command, that will deter-

[1] The cost of transporting wheat one hundred miles by wagons drawn by horses over good ordinary roads is in general equal to its market value at its initial point of movement. The sphere of the consumption of wheat by the masses by reason of its increased cost of supply under such imperfect media of transport must be, therefore, very limited. On the other hand, through a present better medium of exchange—the railroad—wheat can now be moved from a producer to the consumer for less than a half-a-cent a ton per mile.

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mine the price of the whole. There will be no help for them except through increased consumption by reason of decreased cost; and decreased cost will certainly not be attained through the use of imperfect money, any more than by the use of imperfect railroads, or ships.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SILVER. It is claimed that there has been an arbitrary discrimination against silver which has impaired its value, or purchasing power in the form of money. Undoubtedly there has been such a discrimination, but it has not been of the nature popularly supposed. The only discrimination against silver, worthy of the name, has been the direct outcome of the progress of civilization; the essential element of which is, intelligent and quick discrimination in favor of the employment of new and more efficient instrumentalities, and against the continued use of such as have become obsolete and less efficient; the discrimination which has been exemplified in the substitution of locomotives and cars in place of stage-coaches, steamers in place of sailing-ships, steel in place of iron, gas in place of oil, electricity in place of gas, breech-loading guns in place of flint-lock muskets; and is now favoring in certain countries the substitution of gold in place of silver for monetary purposes. The progress of civilization in the case of nations—like China—that are reluctant or refuse to make such discriminations, is slow or stagnant; but nations which are quick to recognize their importance and adopt them lead the van of civilization.

THE FALLACIOUS THEORY OF CONSPIRACY. On no one point has there been a greater consensus of opinion among the advocates of free coinage, than that the so-called demonetization and disuse of silver have been due to wholly artificial and unworthy influences; in fact to a conspiracy, in which prominent men in all the leading nations of the world have participated, and which specially individualized itself in the United States in the person of one Mr. Ernest Seyd, a German gentleman, who it is asserted visited this country in 1873 as the agent of foreign bankers and with a fund of $500,000 corrupted Congress, and so induced an enactment demonetizing silver. Was there ever a claim more absurd or irrational? If there was a conspiracy of all nations, who were its individual participants and organizers? Where and when did they ever meet? What did they ever do? Who passed round and signed the subscription to the corruption fund? On all these topics history and the press are absolutely dumb. As regards the American part of this matter, it had two and only two elements of truth. There was a man by the name of Seyd, and

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he was in this country in 1872; but he was not a "gold-bug," but a friend of silver; and wrote a letter, to a leading member of Congress, (Hon. Samuel Hooper) protesting against the coinage act of 1873, which is claimed to have demonetized silver in the United States. Do the men who prefer this charge of corruption against Congress think of the libel they thereby prefer against American representative men and institutions? If $500,000 bought Congress in 1872–73, then the inference is warranted that such senators as Bayard, Thurman, Sumner, Conkling and Edmunds, and such representatives as Blaine, Garfield, Allison, Dawes and S. S. Cox, got a part of it; for the legislation in question could never have happened without their co-operation and consent.

THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE DECLINE IN THE VALUE AND USE OF SILVER was undoubtedly a conviction that it is not the money metal suited to the conditions of high civilization. It is a principle generally overlooked by economists and students of finance, and one which does not seem to have been even alluded to in recent discussions about silver, that the kind of money a country will have and use depends upon and will vary with the value of its transactions, the price of its labor, and the rapidity and magnitude of its exchanges; and that when the people of any country have once found out what metal or other instrumentality is best adapted to their wants, that metal or other instrumentality they will employ; and statute law can do little more than recognize and confirm the fact. Thus in China and its dependencies, including more than a third of the population of the globe, the government provides only one form of money, namely: a coarse, heavy disc, composed mainly of copper, and known to foreigners by the name of "*cash.*" It is made with a square hole in the centre for convenience of stringing in tens, or its decimals, and has a commodity value of about an American cent. The question naturally suggests itself, How can so intelligent people as the Chinese use a coin so heavy and of such trifling value in making their exchanges? The answer is very simple, and illustrates the wisdom, and not the foolishness of the government of China. The wages of manual labor in China do not in general exceed 15 or 20 cents per day; and the wage recipient obviously requires that his daily earnings when paid in money, shall be capable of ready division into many multiples in order to be exchanged for the many necessities of himself or his family—two cash, for example, for rice, two for fuel, three for fish, five for cloth or rent, etc., etc. The equivalent of a day's wages at

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20 cents in gold would be too small to be conveniently handled. The inconvenience of silver, to people with coarse fingers and no pockets, would be almost as great, as the sum necessary to buy a pound of rice and purchase a chopstick to eat it with, would be represented by a piece of silver (at its former value) no larger in circumference than the flat surface of a small split pea. But with the bulky, heavy cash, with coarse insignia on its surface indicating its genuineness, the Chinese laborer has no difficulty in making his money exchanges; and no international influences will persuade him to use anything else for money. Small, moreover, as is the commodity value of his single coin, the Chinese government has learned through hard experience to be very careful that it shall not be impaired in value by over-issue, or supply in excess of popular demand, or by debasement. In countries of higher civilization, embracing another third of the world's population—like India, Turkey, Persia, Mexico, the West Indies, and a large part of South America—but also of comparatively low prices and wages, and of limited exchanges (and these last mainly domestic or internal) silver naturally takes the place of copper to a large extent [1] as the medium of exchange and standard of value; and these industrial conditions will prevent them from using any other form of money for a long future. Two thirds of the population of the world have therefore no occasion for the use of gold as money. On the other hand, in countries of the highest civilization, with high prices and wages, rapid financial transactions and extensive international commercial relations, the natural tendencies favor the more extensive use of gold for money, without at the same time displacing from their legitimate monetary spheres either copper or silver. In short by a process of evolution, as natural and inevitable as any occurring in the animal or vegetable kingdom, gold has come to be recognized and demanded as never before in such countries as the best instrumentality for measuring values and effecting exchanges. It has become, in the first place, the money of account in the commercial world and of all international trade. It has become one of the most important conditions of national defence; and the great military nations of the world, recognizing the fact that a full supply of the most valuable coin, that is always purchasable and salable without discount in other countries, is more necessary than a full supply of arms, ships, and forts, are putting no other form of money into their mili-

[1] "Millions of the natives of India never touch a coin; never see one of any kind." Report of evidence, British Commission on Indian coinage, p. 117.

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tary chests. In respect to portability, convenience for use, adaptation to domestic and foreign business alike, the balance of advantage for all transactions above $20 is also largely on the side of gold considered as a medium of exchange; as will be evident when it is remembered that it required, even before its depreciation, sixteen times more time to count silver in any considerable quantity than an equal value of gold; sixteen times more strength to handle it; sixteen times more packages, or capacity to hold it; and sixteen times more expense to transport it. Even before the decline in the value of silver, the weight of a hundred dollars was five and a half pounds; and for every thousand dollars that a man was paid in silver, a wheelbarrow was necessary if he proposed to remove it.

It was these and other like considerations operating upon thoughtful minds in the leading civilized countries that initiated a movement against the use of silver as a money metal, years before it had experienced any notable decline in value or had been subjected to anything worthy of being characterized as demonetization. Thus, it was a recognition of a public unwillingness to accept silver as a medium of exchange, that prompted five States of Europe—France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Greece—to unite in 1865 under the name of the "Latin Union," for the purpose of antagonizing, by concerted action, this tendency; which it attempted to do by adopting a uniform coinage, lowering the fineness (value) of all silver coins of two francs or less, and so making them subsidiary, or token currency; and limiting their legal-tender ability. It was expected that these coins being thus rendered non-exportable as bullion, would be retained in circulation, and by displacing gold would occasion an increased demand and use for silver. These anticipations were not realized; but on the contrary the amount of silver offered for coinage increased so enormously (at the French mint from 5,000,000 francs' worth in 1871–72 to 150,000,000 worth in 1873), that the Latin Union hurriedly limited in this latter year the coinage of silver for all the countries concerned, to 120,000,000 francs ($24,000,000) per year; which was virtually equivalent to the adoption of the gold standard. And it is to be further noted that in 1876, Belgium, Switzerland, and France closed the doors of their mints to silver and have not since reopened them.

Again, the specific reasons assigned by Germany, speaking through her Minister of Finance in 1871, for the adoption of the gold standard and the discontinuance of silver coinage were "*the inconvenience of*

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silver coins" as instrumentalities for trade, and a conviction that a silver standard could not be maintained. And it can hardly be doubted that Germany's great statesman—Prince Bismarck—in constructing the new German Empire, clearly saw, with the eighty years' experience of England before him, that if he would make it great commercially, as well as great from its military resources, he must give to it that unit of value in exchange which is recognized by all nations as most stable, and a coinage that would be accepted in international trade, and would not be melted down as soon as it reached the frontier. Now the significance of these facts is to be found in the demonstration (often overlooked) which they afford, of the antagonism to the use of silver as a money metal, and its consequent tendency to decline in value, which prevailed in countries of high civilization anterior to any great increase in the world's supply of silver; the world's annual production of silver remaining almost stationary, or declining during the years 1866–76. After this latter date, the previous tendency to displacement and decline in obedience to what may be properly termed the natural law of selection, was intensified by an enormous increase in the world's product of silver; which has more than doubled within twenty years; has increased more than fifty per cent in ten years, and is at least sixteen per cent greater than it was the year before the Sherman law was enacted; —the same being the result of the discovery of new and readily accessible mines and of new and cheap processes of mining and smelting ores of silver. The experience of the United States on this point is also most instructive. Thus after having coined from 1878, to November, 1892, 416,412,835 silver dollars, the Government was able to report at the latter date, only 61,672,455 in circulation; and 350,000,000 untouched in the vaults of the Treasury. The unwillingness of the people of the United States to accept silver in change for paper, in other than coins of small weight, in making their retail purchases, is also very noticeable. In California even gamblers refuse to take silver for poker "chips." The British Commission on Indian currency brought out the interesting fact, that the issue of "five rupee paper" and other notes by local banks in India has within a comparatively recent time "disestablished an immense amount of silver" in that country. Thus twenty years ago "wagon-loads of silver used to go up to the cotton and other districts of India, to pay for cotton and other produce. Now the owner of the cotton goes to the merchant, and instead of taking payment in silver, which would be

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an inconvenience, he takes payment in notes, or in a check on the bank, and silver is not required." If any one supposes that in this latter part of the nineteenth century, these natural results and tendencies can be arrested by artificial agencies; or that the former parity of silver and gold can be re-established and maintained by statute enactments, he is bound to be disappointed. Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and practically France and Belgium, have adopted the single gold standard. The dominant forces of the world's industries have made such action on the part of these several nations virtually compulsory; and if the United States proposes to be a commercial nation of the first class, it has got to fall into line with its powerful commercial competitors.

THE FALLACY OF NEW COINAGE RATIOS. An idea which has found much favor is, that a solution of the silver problem can be found by changing the existing coinage ratio of gold and silver, now established by law, and putting into the silver dollar enough additional silver at market value to make it equal in value to a gold dollar; and that other nations should do the same with their standard silver coinage. The idea from a mechanical point of view is entirely practical; but from every other point of view is entirely unpractical. Its advocates not only entirely ignore the influences that have greatly prejudiced the great commercial nations against the use of silver as a money metal by reason of its inconvenience as an instrumentality for trade; but they propose to increase and strengthen this prejudice by greatly augmenting the size, the weight, and the bulkiness of all silver coinage that is not in the nature of a token currency. But suppose the nations should agree in establishing a common coinage ratio between the two metals, as 20, 24, or 28 to 1; what reason is there to believe that such ratio can be maintained? Who knows what the gold value of silver is at the present time? Who knows what it is going to be? Who knows the price at which it can be mined at a profit under business conditions and without government interferences? All the evidence is to the effect that the application of new methods to the working of known deposits of silver—especially in Mexico and South America —will greatly increase its production at no distant day and reduce its worth to no more than one-third of the value on which its coinage parity with gold was maintained for a hundred years. Silver was worth $69\frac{9}{10}$d per ounce on the London market in 1870; $48\frac{9}{10}$d in 1885, has touched 30d the present year, and a quotation of 25d to 20d is predicted. It would seem to require no argument to prove

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that the establishment and continuance of an international coinage ratio of gold and silver must depend on the establishment and maintenance of a parity, or constant relative value of the two metals. Unless this can be effected, no permanent international agreement is possible; and the cause of silver and of bimetallism, or the legalized use of the two metals as money at a prescribed ratio, is lost. But the relative value of gold and silver, as is the case with all other commodities, is determined by the law of supply and demand; and if this cannot be regulated, parity between the two metals cannot be maintained. If silver, for example, should by reason of increased production decline in value after a common ratio had been established, its coinage would at once become fiat money, and the mercantile world would not accept it as money further than was made obligatory by its legal tender quality for the payment of debts. Suppose a ratio of 1 to 24 were adopted, which assumes 86 cents as the equivalent value of silver. If silver should then be advanced by even so little as a cent beyond that figure, its coinage would cease, because it would be worth more as bullion than as coin. Furthermore, to establish and maintain an international coinage parity between the two metals, it is not sufficient that their demand and supply for coinage should be relatively equal at the time a common ratio is agreed upon. It must be kept equal; or in other words all the nations of the world must not only agree in advance that they will not demand or supply silver for any other purposes in any other ratio, but they must give security that they will keep their agreement; and this they will never do. In short, the first and indispensable condition for maintaining the price of any commodity, be it gold or silver, wheat or iron, is that its overproduction, or production in excess of demand, should be prevented. And it is only by the constant recognition and unvarying application of this principle that France has been enabled to sustain the value of the large amount of silver which she coined before the closing of her mint to silver in 1876; *i.e.*, by resolutely controlling and limiting the supply of silver money to her people.

Finally, the enormous cost of recoining the great mass of coined silver in the United States and Europe alone with an increased ratio of silver, even though that ratio be as low as 20 to 1, with its necessary accompaniment of increased debt or taxes—estimated in the case of the United States at over one hundred millions of dollars—is sufficient to demonstrate the utter absurdity and impracticability of the proposed remedy of new coinage ratios. The United States might

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probably be able to incur the expense of such recoinage, but the financial condition of no other nation in the world would warrant their even considering it.

THE FALLACY OF A CHEAP MONEY. The advocates of the extended use of silver as currency, plant themselves also on what they regard as a fundamental principle, namely, that it is desirable to have cheap money. But as a matter of fact, no commodity money (and all true money is a commodity), be it gold, silver, copper, iron, cattle, or cabbages, can be relatively cheaper than another kind. The value of each (if not a token or representative currency, and minting is free) will depend upon the amount of labor embodied in it, or that will be required to purchase it; and no legislation can give it any other value. If statute could make one metal or other commodity equal in value to another, the State that first availed itself of the opportunity would acquire boundless riches, and the dream of the alchemists would be realized. If it requires $500,000,000 to supply an exclusively gold currency for the United States, and silver is depreciated to fifty per cent in value in comparison with gold, it will require $1,000,000,000 in silver to perform the same money work as gold; and it will require the same amount of commodities, or embodied labor to buy the exclusively gold currency that it will to buy the exclusively silver currency. A man who advocates the free coinage of silver for the purpose of obtaining cheap money, means, if he has any clear idea of what he is talking about, a depreciated dollar; which if left without any provision for redemption in gold, would be worth just what the bullion contained in it would buy in the open market; but which invested with legal tender ability becomes an instrument of rascality for the scaling of all obligations of indebtedness, wages, bonds, savings-bank deposits, insurances, trust payments, pensions, and the like. A person contracting to perform work for a given number of dollars—especially the day laborer—wants and is entitled to have the dearest dollar that the market affords; and any other kind of dollar means full work for less wages.

THE GOLD SCARCITY FALLACY. A remaining argument for the free coinage of silver, or for legislation for its increased use, is the assertion continually made with all confidence, that there is not sufficient gold in the world to effect its exchanges, and that the adoption by the United States of a single gold standard would exclude the use of silver as currency, abolish half the present money of the world, and produce tremendous and widespread disturbances in prices and busi-

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ness. If these assertions are true, the silver problem becomes invested with philanthropic interest, and the advocates of free coinage virtually call upon the United States to legislate for the benefit of humanity generally. It is important, therefore, to ascertain at the outset the extent of the field open to such service. More than one-third of the population of the globe use only copper for money, or trade by barter, and cannot by any international influence be induced to do otherwise. To another third, the almost exclusive use of silver as a money metal is an absolute necessity of their condition, and there is no doubt that they will so continue to use it, and in increasing quantity, for a long future. Of the remainder of the world's population, a large proportion—*i.e.*, the mass of the people of Russia, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Mexico, South America and the like—could not by reason of their economic condition use gold to any great extent as money, even if an abundant supply of it was to them available. All of the nations of the latter class use a great amount of silver for their subsidiary coinage, because they cannot use gold or any other instrumentality to equal advantage; the United States alone carrying at the present time over $77,000,000 worth of such coined silver. The claim that the adoption of a gold standard of value by the United States would be the "destruction of silver" as a coinage metal, is therefore simply concrete nonsense, the offspring of profound ignorance or charlatanry; and the problem of the scarcity of gold is accordingly of moment, not to the whole population of the world, but to only a very small part of it; to the people of the few great commercial countries. And the immediate question of interest is exclusively to them, is there, or is there likely to be any scarcity? Senator Stewart is reported as saying that the annual "output" of gold is now consumed in the arts; and that "my investigations teach me that it is impossible to increase the supply." That the annual consumption of gold in the arts is very great cannot be questioned. But if it is sufficient to absorb its total annual output, how happens it that the average annual gold coinage of the world for the three years from 1889–91, less recoinage, is believed to have been about $120,000,000, or three per cent on the estimated value of the world's stock of gold in 1891?—an increase greater than the concurrent increase of the world's population, or of the population of any or all the gold-using countries. The world's annual product of gold consequent on the exhaustion of the California and Australian mines largely diminished; but there is no evidence that the trade of the world was diminished or

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obstructed in consequence. On the contrary it went on increasing at an unprecedented rate as if nothing unusual had occurred. The annual gold product of the world is at present not diminishing, but increasing. The average yearly product for the fifteen years, 1873–87, was $103,925,000; but for the five years 1887–91 it was $119,638,000, and for 1892 was $130,816,000; a figure exceeded by only five years in the world's prior experience; and recent discoveries in South Africa, and new methods for profitably extracting gold from its combinations with sulphur, promise a continued large increase.

Again, assuming that there has been in recent years a diminution in the supply of gold, such diminution has been far more than supplemented and made good by the reduction in the amount of money, which the increased facilities for doing business have permitted and effected. In fact the tendency in all highly civilized countries is to do away to a very great extent with the actual use of any kind of money—especially gold—and few who discuss the silver question realize the extent to which it has carried out. Thus in England less than one per cent of coin is used in settling up the accounts of banks and bankers. In 1881, investigations instituted by the U. S. Controller of the Currency showed that of all the receipts of 1,966 national banks in one and the same day, 95 per cent were made up of forms of credit, exclusive of circulating notes, and at all the banks the proportion of gold coin to the whole receipts was only .65 of one per cent. An analysis of the international trade of the United States—exports and imports—which is conducted on a gold basis exclusively, furnishes the following instructive results. During the years from 1864–73, one dollar in gold was sufficient for the transaction of $13.91 worth of foreign trade; but from 1883 to 1892 one dollar represented $31.83 worth. In short, as civilization has increased, and as new, quicker, and cheaper means for the interchange of thought and commodities have been invented and adopted, the function of gold as a medium of exchange—the one that necessitates a large and increasing supply and entails the greatest wear and loss—is rapidly diminishing in importance; while on the other hand the function of gold as a measure, or verifier of values, by reason of its exemption from value fluctuations to a greater extent than any other product of labor, is becoming of greater and greater importance, and more especially since silver has become uncertain and fluctuating in value.

But for the purpose of further illustration let it be assumed, that there is not a sufficiency of gold to supply even the wants of the

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small number of highly civilized and commercial nations that desire to avail themselves of its use in preference to silver, and therefore any attempt to effect innovations in existing monetary conditions would be impolitic, because likely to be generally injurious. But this argument would have no weight if the question at issue involved the disuse of any tool, or instrumentality other than gold, in order that something better might be substituted. What would be thought if the directors of a great American railroad corporation should decline to substitute a better form of locomotive in place of those formerly used, because China or Turkey could not afford to do it?

Under the assumed conditions of gold scarcity, nothing would be more certain than that each nation would quickly discard any philanthropic views and adopt the policy which seemed most advantageous to its own interests; and in pursuance of such a policy, the people of the United States would be warranted in saying, "If there is not gold enough for all, there is enough for us; and in virtue of being the largest and best source of supply of the commodities that the world most needs—cotton, wheat, provisions, petroleum, and the like—we can command it in competition with all other nations." If there were not gold enough for all, is it not clear that it would be to the advantage of the United States if it alone of all nations were to adopt the gold standard, and base all its currency, of every name and form, upon it as the one unit and final measure of value? It would be difficult to imagine anything that would augment in an equal degree the prosperity, business, and wealth of the country; for it would become the centre of the exchanges and trade of the world. If there were two stores in a town, each dealing in the same desirable commodities, and if in respect to one, on one side of the street, there was a doubt as to how many ounces the merchant in charge would give in a pound, or inches in a yard, or gills in a gallon, and full confidence that on the other side of the street goods would be always bought and sold by full, just, and unvarying standards of weight, length, and capacity, is there any doubt as to which store the community would resort to for trade?

When the silver question is written up in the future as a matter of history, full and complete, it will certainly be characterized as having involved more of persistent and unsubstantial theory, and a greater disregard of substantial facts, than any other controverted topic which in modern times has received a large share of the world's attention.

DAVID A. WELLS.

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PROSPECTS OF AFRICA'S SETTLEMENT BY WHITES.

THE reported killing of Emin Pasha, by the Arab miscreants against whom he so long and gallantly battled, emphasizes the deep popular interest in the vital problem of African colonization. Emin's work, though not directly concerned, like that of some other explorers, with the opening-up of a vast region for occupation by the surplus part of the populations of white countries, has demonstrated the possibility of using the internal resources of Africa for the maintenance of a large organized society. The average American's opinion —due partly, no doubt, to the woe-begone stories of returned negro pilgrims from Liberia—is that Africa is a sort of immense Dismal Swamp, varied with immense stretches of sandy desert or impenetrable forest. Stories of the narrow escape of large forces from starvation in the wilderness are also not forgotten; and the popular impression seems to be that while adventurous European and American traders may, at great risk of life and health, despoil the Dark Continent of its hidden stores of ivory and gold-dust, Africa, as a desirable or likely field for the permanent habitation of white men, is altogether out of the question.

Dr. Hertzka, the German Bellamy, in his interesting book "Freiland," draws a rosy picture of the possibilities of African colonization in relieving overcrowded Europe. In this book he describes the growth of a white colony on the high plateaus of Central Africa, situated amid the snow-covered mountains of the Kenia and Kilimandsharo, and near the great lakes from which the Nile arises. This settlement, beginning with a population of only a few hundred persons, in the course of one generation grows to number about fifty million souls, who flourish in wealth, health and happiness in the heart of Africa. They educate the natives, among them the Massais, to peaceable work and civilization, and become a shining example for the social reform of mankind in general. I hardly think that Dr. Hertzka would have placed the scene of his tempting picture of future times upon the high plateau of the Leikipia and among the Massais, had he been compelled, as I have been, to travel across these countries

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afoot and to fight with the Massais for dear life. He forgets that the apparently moderate average temperature of the high plateaus under the equator is sharply divided into two rough extremes; that year after year the winter takes possession of the nights, while in daytime reigns the extreme heat of midsummer. These extremes are caused by the strong irradiation of the earth. At one time, I remember, we had two degrees below zero every night we spent on the Leikipia, while in the daytime the thermometer rose to thirty-six degrees centigrade in the shade. What vegetation can be looked for in a country in which the frost falls every night, while tropic heat broods over it in daytime?

Certainly it must be taken into consideration that Dr. Hertzka assumed unthought-of developments of technical forces in drawing this picture of his Utopia. But the question of the colonization qualities of Central Africa must not be considered through the perspective of a possible technical development of our race. Naturally, the only question can be, whether Africa may be made a fit territory for Indo-Germanic settlements, with the means which the science of to-day affords. I will not deny that in future times mankind may be able to make habitable all countries of the globe, with few exceptions, by a more equal division of water and heat. But this is a mere speculation, which differs greatly from the practical problem before us.

It may be said here, with regard to Africa, that the limit of habitability by people of the white race, from the south as well as from the north, is advancing continually. Parts of the Dark Continent that, fifty years ago, would have been looked on as utterly unfit for permanent occupation by civilized human beings, have been conquered to their uses by hardy and energetic settlers. The frontier of civilization has been pushed forward gradually into the region of savagery. It is shown on all sides that the conditions of health are improving everywhere, the mere colonization itself having devised and discovered new and permanent means of subsistence. It is well known that, in the time of Tacitus, Germany was considered one of the most dreaded and dangerous of fever-countries; and during the first part of this century, a visit to the island of Zanzibar was regarded as about equal to suicide. Well, Germany is to-day a densely-populated and healthy country, and in Zanzibar cases of death from pernicious fever are already very few and far between. So it is everywhere. The white race distinguishes itself through its very ability to adapt the different zones to its conditions of living, to sub-

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due the most formidable natural obstacles to its happiness and prosperity. By virtue of this ability, it finally makes itself everywhere at home.

The characteristic phase of the geographical position of Africa is that its largest portion is included in the tropical zone, and that it nowhere passes the limit of the sub-tropical zone. Central Africa is tropical. Egypt, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco and the Cape countries belong to the sub-tropical zone of heat. No such varied opportunities for settlement can therefore be looked for as exist in the two great divisions of the Western hemisphere. Geologically, Africa is characterized by the circumstance that it is a very old continent, whose formations are everywhere washed and eroded by mighty rivers. The whole interior is filled with vast and lofty plateau-formations which reach in descending terraces to the distant sea-coast. These plateaus constitute the actual African steppes. Upon them are placed sharply-outlined mountain-ranges and single mountain-blocks, such as the mountainous countries of Nubia and Abyssinia, of Thagga, Usumbara, Usagara, Livingstonia, and the massive peaks of the Kilimandsharo, Kenia, Subugu, La Poron, Elgon, Ruwenzori, Mfumbiro and others. These elevations are the main sources of the big rivers of the continent, which in all directions run down, from the high central, terrace-like plateaus, to the oceans. Among these rivers are the Nile in the north, the Congo and Niger-Benue in the west, and the Djubba, the Tana and the Zambesi in the east.

Is any part of this land suitable for colonization? The steppes are generally rather dry and are composed mainly of bush and grass prairie, which change to trees at the river-sides and in moist soil only. True, the whole of Central Africa has two regular seasons of rain, which follow the highest position of the sun. But the moisture which falls in this manner is nowhere sufficient for even a basis of agriculture. Agriculture, therefore, depends in the main upon the continuous water-formations, the river-beds of the large streams, the fountains and the rivulets of the mountainous countries. The prairies are adapted for stock-raising only. But stock-raising will be remunerative only when we have learned successfully to fight the permanently raging cattle-diseases. The breeding of small stock and ostriches is even to-day possible in the steppes; but ostrich-farming especially will be found less remunerative the further it extends over the whole continent.

The steppes or savannahs form, according to my opinion, nine-

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tenths of the whole of Central Africa, while at this time about one-tenth of the continent may be called fit for agricultural use. These circumstances must be considered before we decide how far Africa can be called ready for colonization at this time. I think myself entitled to say that the most mountainous countries, such as the Kilimandsharo, Kikuyu, Uganda, Usambara, Karagwe, the upper Congo, and the mountainous districts around the Nyassa, will prove excellent fields for white settlement, for they possess all the necessary conditions—healthy air, plenty of water, and fertile soil. But they are like oases in the steppes and must first be connected with the coast by railways, before we may dare to take settlers to them. As the circumstances are to-day, when goods are transported upon the heads of the natives and the colonist is compelled to travel afoot, the newcomer would either fall a victim to fever in the unhealthy coast-regions before reaching the settlement, or, if not, would find himself unable to produce goods that he could sell with advantage at the coast. Let us suppose the farmer of Michigan compelled to transfer his grain to New York by human carriers, and then think of the state of commerce this would imply in the interior of the United States, and we shall get some idea of actual conditions in Africa.

But even after a solution of the transfer question had been reached, would the white men's settlements in Africa, as already described, remain only as islands and oases? Even supposing that at the Kilimandsharo, which is situated at about two hundred and fifty miles from the coast, twenty-five thousand Germans might settle, I do not think that the whole German East-African sphere of interest, although it covers more than four hundred thousand English square miles, would ever be able to support more than a few hundred thousand European colonists. Yet this is one of the most preferable territories, on account of its many mountainous countries, and because it partly borders on and partly includes the great Central African lakes, Lake Victoria, Tanganyika and Nyassa. Accordingly, a development of the interior of Africa, even no greater than that which has taken place in the South American countries, cannot be thought of. The difference is in the infinitely greater wealth of water of South America and in the fact that that continent reaches up to fifty-six degrees, south latitude, while Africa runs only as far as the thirty-fourth degree of south latitude. All of which shows that Africa, as circumstances are now, can be of only limited importance as a field for colo-

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nization. In the course of future developments, several millions of white men may perhaps settle in the more highly-favored parts of this interesting continent; but the great bulk of it will belong perpetually to the black race, as it has belonged to that race for many thousands of years.

The history of mankind proves that native populations are supplanted by conquerors only in countries in which the conditions of life suit the latter. Here in America the Mohicans, the Delawares and other redskins disappeared before the white race, because the climate and the conditions of the country suited the immigrant from the East, and because the Indians could not make up their minds, and probably were not able to do so, to become useful members of the new civilization. Just so it was in Australia and New Zealand. The immigrants were directly compelled to destroy the natives, because the natives were opposed to the new settlement. From this historical example, the fate of the African tribes may be deduced. Their existence is endangered in the African countries where the white man also can find his existence, that is, in the mountains and on some of the high plateaus. But even there this is the case only so far as they refuse to participate in the work of developing the new and elevated culture, or so far as they attempt to cross its way in an antagonistic manner, for the colonists need rough labor, and it is only natural that they should desire at first to use the natives for their own purposes. The Africans are mostly agriculturists and cattle-raisers, and by correct and earnest treatment, they could be made to learn the duties of European laborers. This has been done, for instance, in America. Certainly, not all the tribes could be induced to do this. I hardly think that the high-spirited Massais would easily become willing to work for others. The desire for theft and murder is too deeply rooted in them, and it is probable that they would prefer to steal should circumstances become so rigorous as to compel them to give up the life of warriors. But with that their fate would be sealed. They would go the way of the indomitable redskins of North America. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the largest portion of the farming population will, if necessary, learn to work and to respond to the advance of culture. Then they will encounter the same fate as their brothers the Zulus in the South African countries, among whom we observe, under European organization, not only a steady increase of population but also a growing wealth. I believe these tribes will by so much more avoid destruction as we use care and de-

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liberation in emancipating them from the slavery to which they have been used and converting them into free laborers.

To this extent, the fate of Africa can be divined for many years to come. The magic process which will open the Dark Continent to civilization is the organization of native labor by white intelligence. When the negro learns to create new values by his own labor, he will in turn get into the condition to increase his desires and to satisfy them by buying from foreign countries. By this process, the commercial importance of the continent is bound steadily to grow. Its mineral treasures have been explored, but to a very small extent; yet everywhere it is an established fact that plantations are feasible and that they may be carried to a high development. Coffee, tea, cocoa, tobacco, cotton, vanilla—in short, all so-called colonial articles grow in the moist valleys of Africa as well as in Ceylon, Sumatra and the West Indies, and with those the great future of the continent is assured. Its prosperity will depend upon agriculture and commerce, and perhaps on mining. With these resources, enterprising white nations will clearly find it well worth while to continue their explorations and to secure a firmer foothold in the promising regions where their flags already wave.

To revert to my opening observations, I desire to say that I do not believe that the time will ever come when, as Dr. Hertzka pretends, a thickly-settled European population will live in the savannahs and among the mountains of Central Africa; but I do think that, in times not far remote, Africa will be honeycombed, at all points and places fit for them, with European settlements. I believe that these outposts of the white world will in future constitute the brain of the Dark Continent; that they will educate a part of the native population to profitable labor, and that Africa will then produce useful articles in great quantities, even if not to so large an extent as other continents, and will so perform its share in the development of human culture and civilization. To reach this aim, at least, must be the object of the pioneers who search out the suitable territories, and, secondly, of all those who take a practical interest in the development of culture upon our planet, without regard to the nationality they own.

CARL PETERS.

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LITERARY EMANCIPATION OF THE WEST.

A FAVORITE proposition with the business-man of the West is this: "If the West had been settled first, the East would be a wilderness to-day, for the reason (as he goes on to explain) that the fertile soil, the vast cities, the ease of communication of the mid-land, would have made it the home of all ease, refinement, culture and art. The East would have been only a fringe of seaport towns, with fine shooting and fishing lands as a background." If he happens to be a business-man with an imagination (there are such), he will then say: "The East has therefore had its day as a commercial centre. The West has finally been discovered. The East has poured its millions of men and money into the Mississippi valley, and these millions of men have taken root in the soil; and to-day, in the year of 1893, the commercial dominance of the East is distinctly on the wane. Henceforth, the centre of commercial activity in the United States is to be the West. Henceforth, when men of the Old World speak of America, they will not think of Boston and New York and Philadelphia, they will mean Chicago and the Mississippi valley."

There is, of course, an element of exaggeration in this, but there is also in it a larger truth and a magnificent enthusiasm—an enthusiasm which rises above commercial considerations. The man who really dares to face the future—and, of course, the man who dares to face the future is he who finds his interests served by it—the man who can sit down and think of the oncoming millions of the great Mississippi valley, must admit that over-statement is quite impossible, given time enough for fulfilment. Commercially, the West rushes toward the future. Cities rise with velocity hitherto inconceivable. True, they are mushrooms to some extent and are founded upon greed and speculation to a sorrowful extent; but the people are coming on after all, people of higher wisdom and purer life, who will make these mushroom cities temples to art and song.

This leads me to a proposition, which I make on my own account. Literary horizons also are changing with almost equal swiftness. Centres of art production are moving westward. While

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Boston and New York are debating which has the most literary men, the West and the South are rising to say, "Pool your issues, good friends. You'll soon need each other's aid to maintain your hitherto unquestioned domination over American literature."

Boston has claimed and held supremacy in American literature for more than half a century. Made illustrious by Emerson, Hawthorne, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, and others of like general character, it easily kept its place as the most important literary centre in America. New York was second and Philadelphia third. This Cambridge group has been called "the polite group" and "the Library group." Its members took things mainly at second hand. They read many books and wrote gentle and polite poems on books and events. Whittier and Hawthorne, notwithstanding their larger originality, were, after all, related. They took things in a bookish way. By this it is not meant that they were weak or poor; they belonged to another period, that is all, and were actuated by different ideals of life. So long as this group lived, Boston was the literary autocrat of the nation, and it is but natural that she should now take a rather mournful view of American literature. The school of book-poets is losing power, and, with the change in literary creed, Boston has lost its high place. New York to-day claims to be and is the literary centre of America. Boston artists one by one go to New York. Literary men find their market growing there and dying out in Boston. They find quicker and warmer appreciation in New York, and the critical atmosphere more hospitable. The present receives a larger share of attention than in Boston. Henceforward New York, and not Boston, is to be the great dictator of American literature. New York already assumes to be able to make or break a novelist or playwright. It is the centre of magazine production, and the magazine is, on the whole, the greatest outlet for distinctive American art. We are more American in our illustrating and in our fiction than in any other lines of artistic work. New York is the centre of oil-painting as well as of illustration, and its markets exceed those of almost all other American cities taken together. Its supremacy in art must be conceded to be as complete to-day as its commercial domination in railways and stocks.

And yet New York is in danger of assuming too much. She must not forget that the writers who make her illustrious are products of the South and West. Run over the list of the leading magazine-writers of the last ten years, and see how true this is. Ohio sends

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William D. Howells; Virginia sends Thomas Nelson Page and Miss Rives; Indiana sends Edward Eggleston, James Whitcomb Riley, Mrs. Catherwood. Tennessee is represented by the Murfree sisters. Georgia is made illustrious by Joel Harris and Richard Malcolm Johnston. Louisiana finds voice through George W. Cable and Mrs. Stuart. Arkansas and Kentucky are represented by Alice French and James Lane Allen, and so through a notable list. Thus, every part of the West or South is represented in the literary domination of New York. It is not so much a victory of New York over Boston; it is the rising to literary power of the whole nation. New York is but the trumpet through which the whole nation is at last speaking. Let New York remember this and be humble, for the same causes that have cut away the pride of Boston will certainly bring about a corresponding change in the relation of New York to the South and West. It was easy for Boston to maintain her literary supremacy while the whole population of the nation was less than forty millions, when the whole West was a frontier and the South was a slave-country. It will be hard for New York to retain her present supremacy, with a nation of seventy millions of people, with cities containing half a million people springing up in the interior and on the Western sea—not to mention Chicago, whose shadow already menaces New York.

Already Chicago claims to have pushed New York from her seat as ruler of our commerce. The whole West and South are in open rebellion against her financial rule. Chicago equals, possibly outnumbers her in population and certainly outspeeds her in enterprise. The rise of Chicago as a literary and art centre is a question only of time, and of a very short time, for the Columbian Exposition has taught her her own capabilities in something higher than business. The founding of vast libraries and universities and art museums is the first formal step, the preparation-stage; expression will follow swiftly. Magazines and publishing-houses are to come. The writers have already risen.—"Where are they?" the critic asks. In the shadow where Hawthorne and Whittier and Emerson were born. Every literary man has a beginning somewhere, and there are scores of original young writers and artists just rising to power in the West. They need only a channel for utterance; it will come and they will speak.

New York, like Boston, is too near London and Paris to be American. It is not in touch with the West. It is losing touch with the

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people. Chicago is much more American, notwithstanding its foreign population. Its dominant population is splendidly American, drawn from the immediate States, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky and Ohio. It does not profess to be exclusive; it professes to be a meeting-place. Of course, it has its tremulous and timid imitators of New York and Boston imitations of London and Paris; but these people are in a sad minority. The great body of men and women who give strength and originality to Chicago are people who care very little what New York thinks of their work, and the doings of London and Paris are not more vital.

Nobody whose eyes are not fastened upon the past can imagine a hopeless literary future for this great nation. To the conservative who thinks change necessarily destructive and hopeless, the future is a blank. To the radical who feels change to be necessary and natural, the present and the future are filled with magnificent promise. The horizon widens each year, including more cities, more writers, more lovers of light and song, more makers of literature. Literary invention is as inevitable as the manipulation of the material universe. The material always subtends the intellectual. Activity in material comes ultimately to be expressed, and expression is commensurate with the deed. "Bigness does not count," the East says in answer to the West. Yes, but it does! The prairies lead to general conceptions. The winds give strength and penetration and alertness. The mighty stretches of woods lead to breadth and generosity of intellectual conception. The West and South are coming to be something more than big, coming to the expression of a new world, coming to take their places in the world of literature, as in the world of action, and no sneer from gloomy prophets of the dying past can check or chill them.

The literature which is already springing up in those great interior spaces of the South and West is a literature not of books but of life. It draws its inspiration from original contact with men and with nature. It has the rough-hewn quality of first-hand work. It has few of the old-world limitations. It is free. Its vitalizing element is its difference of treatment from that of any other literature of any other place or time, and it is extremely improbable that it will ever submit to any central academy, whether in New York or Chicago. This school will be one where most notably the individuality of each writer will be respected, and that forbids strict conformity to accepted models. When life is the model and truth the

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criterion and individualism the coloring element of a literature, the central academy has small power. Then again, hero-worship in literature is weakening. In the days when there were few literary men and these few men professedly held strange powers entirely distinct from their fellows, something of awe went with the reader's admiration. To-day, when the ranks of the poets are thick with adepts, and when the novelists write of comprehensible subjects and lay no claim to mystic power, both poet and novelist are approached without ceremony. This also weakens the hold of the central academy.

The blight upon the literature of the West, like that of all provinces, has been its timidity, its tendency to work in accepted modes, its childish desire to write for the applause of its masters in the East. This has been in fact the weakness of the entire output of American literature. The West only emphasizes the fact. In material things, America has boundless self-assertion, but in the arts it has imitated because of its failure to perceive its proper relation to the literature of the world. The West, reckoning itself an annex of the East, has imitated imitations. Because the East considered itself English in general character, the West, so far as most of its writers are concerned, has acquiesced. As a matter of fact, the West is not English. The Northwest is more largely Teutonic and Scandinavian. And the people of Indiana, Ohio and Illinois are far removed from England and from English conceptions of life; and this distance is sure to find its statement in literature. Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Dakota and other Western States are half composed of men and women of Germanic or Scandinavian extraction. The literature rising from these people will not be English. It will be something new; it will be and ought to be American—that is to say, a new composite.

The centre of this literature of national scope therefore cannot be in the East. It will not be dominated by the English idea. It will have no reference to Tennyson or Longfellow or Arnold. Its reference to the north of Europe, to Norway or Germany, will have less of benumbing effect, for these northern peoples are not so deeply enslaved to the past as England is. The West should work in accordance with the fundamental principles of good writing, that is, it should seek to attain the most perfect lucidity, expressiveness, flexibility and grace. Its technique should be comprehensible, clear in outline and infinitely suggestive, ready to be submitted to the world, but free to use new forms. The choice of subject and the quality that enters into it, like a subtle flavor into wine, should be individual,

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not subject to any school or master. The judgment of the East should take rank merely among other judgments; it should not overawe.

And yet the East, speaking generally, has not risen, despite its pretensions, to the level of the best criticism of London, which demands of America, not imitations of English models, but strong, faithful, characteristic work. For fifty years the best critics of England and of Europe have been calling for the native utterance of American writers. Posnett, Dowden, Taine, Chasle, Freiligrath, Björnson, every critic who has perceived the forward movement of all art, has looked for a new conception, a new flavor, a new manner in American literature; and almost as constantly have the conservative and contented critics of Boston and New York discouraged the truest, freest utterance of the American poet and novelist. Upon the tender springing plant of American literature, the frost of conservative culture has ever fallen. No wonder the young writer has turned to copying old forms and has benumbed and sterilized his creative soul. It really comes down to a contest, not between the East and the West, but between sterile culture and creative work, between mere scholarship and wisdom, between conservative criticism and native original literary production. It is a question of books *versus* a literature of life, a struggle between adaptation to new surroundings and conformity to the ancestral type. It is only because there happen to be more conservatives in the West that the contest takes on the appearance of a war between East and West. The East has its magnificent radicals, but they are faced by greater odds in their demand for the new forms.

Shall our literature be a literature of the East, in mode if not in subject, or shall it be national? Is it to be only so large as the conception of New York and Boston critics, or shall it be as big and broad and democratic as the best thought of the whole nation? Is every work of art of every Western or Southern man or woman to be submitted with timid air to a jury that represents only a section of American society, a section which is really nearer the Old World than the New? Or shall the writing be addressed to the whole nation? Editors and critics are human. They are likely at best to be biassed by their section and their adherents. As a matter of fact, there are groups of people all over the interior America, in towns and cities, who have not only all the substantial acquirements of the Eastern readers, but a broader and more intimate knowledge of Ameri-

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can life. The culture represented by these people is not alone based upon knowledge of dead forms of art, but it includes living issues of art. The number of these people increases year by year. They stand for ideas and conditions of the future, and from them artists are rising filled with courage and moved by convictions of their allegiance to truth. These people demand something more than smooth conventional work. They realize the tendency of young authors not to write as they really feel, but as they think the editors of the great magazines of the East would have them write. They realize the danger which lies in putting into the hands of a few men, no matter how fine they may be, the directing power of American literature.

These cultivated and fearless Western readers are beginning to understand the situation and to say, By what right do you of the East assume the position of final judges of what American literature shall be? What special qualifications does a residence on the extreme eastern shore of our nation give you, by which to settle all questions of a national literature? "The West is crude," Eastern critics are fond of saying. What do you mean by that? Do you mean that there are not men and women of the highest type in the West? Do you mean that we do not conform to your specific ideal of culture? Or do you mean that we have not been self-respecting enough in our own thinking? In what lies your assumed superiority over the West?

To this the East replies: We are the occupying claimants of the glory of the great men of this century's literature. We have also the great libraries, the museums, the great universities which make us the centre of critical intelligence. Granting your great railways, your stupendous enterprises, your great cities, the East still remains and must remain the centre of the highest literary culture in America.

The West rejoins: That is the point at issue. We deny that the East is the exclusive home of the broadest culture. We feel that much of this culture is barren and insincere. It has a hopeless outlook. It leads nowhere. It treads a circle, like the logic of the Koran. Culture is not creative power. Scholarship does not imply wisdom. We do not believe a city at our farthest East can remain the city most progressive in its art, most unbiassed in its judgments. The American city of broadest culture is henceforth to be that where the broad, free currents of American life daily ebb and flow. Such a city can know (and will know) all that the East knows of funda-

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mental principles of art and literature and will have a wider knowledge of the scope and action of American life.

The East then says: It will take a hundred years to make a Western city like New York or Boston. The mellow charm of our literary atmosphere is the growth of two centuries. Our very streets are lined with suggestive walls and historical tablets. Our drawing-rooms and our clubs represent the flowering culture of ten generations.

The West quickly responds: Keep your past. Hug your tablets to your shirt-front; you are welcome to all that; we are concerned with the present, and with the splendor of the future. Your culture is too largely of the moribund. You fail to conceive that our idea of culture is a different and, we assert, a higher form because it refers to a culture of living forms. Besides, culture even of the broadest is only part of it; creative power is the crowning splendor of a nation's life. Scholarship does not necessarily imply wisdom. The study of the past does little for original genius. Libraries and universities produce few of the great leaders of American thought; all that books can give is our inheritance as well as yours. We deny that the Eastern "art atmosphere" is necessary to the production of original works of art. We doubt the ability of New York or Boston criticism to pass final judgment upon a Western work of art, because the conditions of our life are outside the circle of its intimate knowledge. A criticism which stands for old things, we repeat, is not the criticism which is to aid the production of characteristic American art. America is not to submit itself to the past, it is to be free.

Do you mean to say that you propose to cut loose from the past? asks the East.

By no means. We expect to assert our right to our day, as Russia, Norway, Germany and others of our neighbor nations have done. The youth of all nations are in the fight. We are in the midst of one of those returning cycles of progress in art when the young man attains his majority. America has begun to attain her majority, to claim the right to a free choice in art as well as in government, to speak her own mind in her own way.

Permit us—are you to use as a medium, Choctaw or English? the East inquires, in strenuously polite phrase.

That illustrates the inadequateness and the illiberality of your attitude toward us. We propose to use the speech of living men and women. We expect to use actual speech as we hear it and to record its changes. We expect to treat of the town and city as well as of

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the farm, each in its place and through the medium of characteristic speech. We propose to discard your nipping accent, your nice phrases, your balanced sentences and your neat proprieties inherited from the eighteenth century. Our speech is to be as individual as our view of life.

Says the East: Your view of life is of no interest to us. We do not see the necessity of Americans troubling to write or paint at all in future. We have books and paintings enough in the market. When we want a book, we buy a classic and know what we are getting. When we want a painting, there are Corots and Rousseaus and Bouguereaus in the markets. Produce wheat and corn and railway-stocks yet awhile, and don't trouble yourself about literary problems. Read the classics for the improvement of your style. In the meantime, we will see that American literature is not vulgarized.

Again the West retorts hotly: Who constituted you the guardian of American literature? What do you know of the needs or tastes of the people——

Testily the old gentleman breaks in: My dear sir, I care nothing for any tastes but my own. I don't like the common American in life and I don't like him in books. Therefore——

There! rejoins the West triumphantly. There is a second point admitted. You have no sympathy with the American people of middle condition. You are essentially aristocratic and un-American in your position. From your library, or from the car-window, you look upon our life; that is the extent of your knowledge of our conditions at best. For the most part you have never been west of Niagara Falls. How can you be just to this literature which springs from a life you do not know or sympathize with? We are forming a literature from direct contact with life, and such a literature can be estimated only by unbiassed minds and by comparison with nature and the life we live. Are you fitted to be the court of last resort upon our writing by reason of your study of English novels and your study of last-century painting? The test of a work of art is not, Does it conform to the best models? but, Does it touch and lift and exalt men? And we profess ability to perceive these qualities even west of the Mississippi River. We care little for the freemasonry of literary phrases which relates one spectacled enthusiast over dead men's books to another and a similar devotee of dead men's pictures. The West should aim to be wise rather than cultured. Wisdom is democratic, culture is an aristocrat. Wis-

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dom is knowledge of principles, culture is a knowledge of forms and accepted conceptions.

In this way has the battle begun to take shape, as I know, having lived for ten years in the East and still retaining close connection with the West. Lines are, of course, only broadly thus drawn. For there are fine critics of the comparative philosophy in the East and in London, men who perceive these conditions and understand them. On the other hand, the West is full of timid souls who tremble in constant fear of being incorrect. But broadly, the West by virtue of its needs is coming to perceive its relation to the Old World and to the literature of the past. With the coming to power and importance in material ways, Chicago is soon to be the centre of unfettered and unconventional criticism. It is probably the most representative Western city. It is central. It cannot be one-sided, because of the equal pressure brought to bear upon it. It must be democratic and progressive, for it will stand for a mighty people who will not abide slavish genuflections before any idol. Finally, therefore, America should be free—free from any domination. It should not cringe or bow to the past nor to the East, nor to any coterie, for that matter. The American idea has hardly yet entered into literature; and one reason why it has not, is because of the inherited idea of a central academy, whereas true American literature must differ as radically from the literature of England, as the life we live differs from theirs.

Original creation moves in cycles. Each age of strong creative capability reveals life in its own fashion. That is, each creative age in the past uttered its own truth as over against the conventionalized dogmas of its teachers. I believe such a period of literary breaking-away has come in America. Whitman announced it, but could not exemplify it in popular form. He voiced its force, its love of liberty and love of comrades, but he was the prophet, not the exemplar. He said well that the real literature of America could not be a polite literature. The nation is too great, too sincere. There is coming in this land the mightiest assertion in art of the rights of man and the glory of the physical universe ever made in the world. It will be done not by one man, but by many men and women. It will be born not of drawing-room culture, nor of imitation, nor of fear of masters, nor will it come from homes of great wealth. It will come from the average American home in the city, as well as in the country. It will deal with all kinds and conditions. It will be born of the

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mingling seas of men in the vast interior of America, because there the problem of the perpetuity of our democracy, the question of the liberty as well as the nationality of our art, will be fought out. This literature will be too great to submit to the domination of any literary centre or literary master. With cities of half-a-million inhabitants scattered from Pittsburg to Seattle, New York and Chicago will alike be made humble. Stand up, O young man and woman of the West! Stand erect! Face the future with a song on your lips and the light of a broader day in your eyes. Turn your back on the past, not in scorn, but in justice to the future. Reject the scholasticism of the East. Cease trying to be correct, and become creative. This is our day. The past is not vital. It is a highway of dust, and Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare are milestones. Libraries do not create great poets and artists; they seldom aid, and they often warp and destroy them. To know Shakespeare is good. To know your fellow-men is better. All that Shakespeare knew of his fellows you may know of your fellows, but not at second-hand, not through Shakespeare, not through the eyes of the dead, but at first hand.

In closing let me say: I hope I have made it clear that our position is not one of attacking the East, or Eastern literary men. We are simply attacking the false and fatal idea of culture, based upon past models rather than upon truth. We are speaking for a broader outlook for American literature. We are standing for a literature which shall rise above culture, above library centres and literary masters, to sincerity of accent and to native democracy of sentiment, and, above all, to creative candor.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

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THE BLACK SHADOW IN THE SOUTH.

I HAVE been asked to explain not the killing, but the torture by burning of two negro men in the United States in the year of grace 1893—one made an end of in Texas, the other in Kentucky. Nowadays, it seems, the killing of negroes is not so extraordinary an occurrence as to need explanation; it has become so common that it no longer surprises. We read of such things as we read of fires that burned a cabin, or a town. Unless the killing occurs in our neighborhood, we do not remember names till the next morning's paper brings us a new story of the contempt shown by an outraged and desperate community for the processes of civil law.

The most alarming fact is that execution by lynching has ceased to surprise us. The area in which mob law asserts itself is a wide and increasing one. In a country unorganized and without government, individuals must punish violations of natural law; there is no other resource. But this is not civilization; it is at best barbarism. In organized society, lynching is a crime against society. It is not a question as to what the victim deserves; it is a question as to what society can afford. In organized society, there is no higher civil or social duty than obedience to law; the lyncher is, of all men, the violator of law. Lynching is a crime against God and man. Lynching breaks the law, defies it, despises it, puts it to open shame. Punishment by government, according to law, represents the judgment of God; punishment by lynching is vengeance. Legal punishment educates men into respect for law; lynching educates them into contempt for law. Lynching does more to put down law than any criminal it takes in hand; lynching kills a man; the lyncher kills the law that protects life; lynching is anarchy. If a government is so weak or bad that it cannot, or will not, enforce the law, the remedy is not lynching; it is revolution. If one private citizen has no moral or civil right to put a man to death, a hundred banded together have not the right. And why not the hundred banded together? Because their object is to overawe and overpower the law. Lynchers are conscious of their lawlessness, and seek protection in masks or

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numbers. The government that winks at lynching is vicious; the government that does not care is foolish and wicked; the government that cannot put it down is weak.

The burning of a human being for any crime whatsoever, it is thought, is a horror which does not occur, outside the Southern States of the American Union, in the civilized world. Yet unless assaults by negroes on white women and little white girls come to an end, there will most probably be still further displays of vengeance that will shock the world. While the Texas and Kentucky burnings were going on, men did not think about the world or its opinions. In the white heat of horror and vengeance, they did not so much as remember that there were any people in the world but themselves. For the time, they were beside themselves—absolutely deranged. "Emotional insanity" may dominate a thousand men as certainly and completely as it may dominate one man, driven to the wall and knowing nothing but the emergency that is upon him. And such insanity may be accompanied by the utmost deliberation in seeking its ends. These Texas and Kentucky burnings are monstrous and abnormal things that cannot be approved by any sane and intelligent man. But sane men who are just will consider the provocation. Sane men who are righteous will remember not only the brutish man who dies by the slow torture of fire; they will think also of the ruined woman, worse tortured than he. When they think of the infuriated mob in Paris, Texas, and the negro ruffian tortured most horribly till he was dead, they will think also of a white baby, four years old, first outraged with demoniacal cruelty and then taken by her heels and torn asunder in the mad wantonness of gorilla ferocity. Indeed, the instant comment of a negro man to whom I stated this case was, "He ought to have been burnt." Men, no matter where they live or how high their personal or social development, with human hearts in them, will ask, "What if she had been my baby?"

These horrors—the rapings, the lynchings, the burnings—are not ancient history; they are products of American life in the closing decade of the nineteenth century. These tortures do not belong to that dark time when women were hanged in New England for witchcraft; there is no superstition in Texas or Kentucky about witches, or other supernatural powers—at least among white people. These burnings are not to be accounted for by any theory of superstition, or ignorance, or low human development, but by what we know of the elemental forces that control human nature throughout all time

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and the world over. Let it be understood that this article does not defend any sort of lynching and that the writer abhors torture with all his soul. The article states only facts and that which they involve. Nor are these statements carelessly made; I have reason to know how serious is the subject herein discussed and to apprehend with clearness of vision the appalling and portentous conditions which make such a discussion even possible.

The Editor of the leading Southern religious paper—estimated by its circulation—the Rev. Dr. E. E. Hoss, of the "Christian Advocate," the chief organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, published from Nashville, Tennessee, said recently in an editorial article that he had reason to believe that "three hundred white women had been raped by negroes within the preceding three months." I believe Dr. Hoss's statement to be under rather than above the facts in the case. Not a few such crimes are never published. And probably some lynchings never get to the newspapers. When Dr. Hoss, at the close of a very vigorous article denouncing all forms of lynch-law, added this statement: "But the raping of white women by negroes must cease," every man of both races with a spark of manhood in him, said, "Amen." When it is remembered that the South is a thinly-settled country and that most of these unspeakable outrages upon women occur in out-of-the-way places, just men, putting themselves in the place of the Southern people, will, when pronouncing judgment, consider what they would think, feel and do were the terrible test their own.

On the matters discussed in this article, I have thought much and during many years of opportunity to learn what are the basic facts in Southern social conditions—conditions unmatched in the history of the world; yet lacking a specific request I should probably have remained silent, not caring to discuss for publication a subject both horrible and loathsome, or to offer to the public opinions about facts that make wise men mad.

Some words personal may be allowable in this paper. Any who care to read it may naturally wish to know whether the writer is, in some reasonable degree, a competent witness. He has not lacked opportunity, having been "born and bred" in Middle Georgia, where slavery was at its best, and having been, in later years, familiar with other sections of the Southern country where it was at its worst. He is not a product of *post-bellum* life—which inevitably made the relations between the two races less kindly in their sympathies and

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friendship—having been a grown man when South Carolina seceded. Opposed to secession, he gave his absolute allegiance to the Confederacy. After Appomattox, recognizing Providence and the invincible facts of history, he soon came to thank Heaven that slavery was done with and that the Union was preserved. Moreover, he has voted always the "regular Democratic ticket." He had no doubt, during the War between the States, of the sacredness of the cause the Confederacy stood for—the rights of the States—nor did he question for a moment the over-ruling Providence that determined the issues of that tremendous revolution. He believed, when it was done, and he believes to this hour, that the unconditional enfranchisement of the negroes was a deadlier crime against republican government and civilization than the extremest Federalist believed secession to be; yet, seeing that the negro was a citizen armed with that thunderbolt of power, the ballot, he laid himself out, through many years of hard service, and with small approval, at the time, from the great body of his own people, to help make of the negro the best citizen possible. His only regret, in looking back at those years of consecration to the negro's cause, is that he could not do more to help his "brother in black" to worthier conceptions of his relations to the government, to society, to the church, and so into better and nobler manhood and womanhood. So much may be pardoned in a Southern man asked to write an article in explanation of the burning of negroes in the South.

Our behavior in the South toward the negro has not been ideally perfect; we might have done better in many things. But I am sure that Southern white people have borne themselves, under trials never known before in history, as well as any people in the world could have borne themselves. In truth, they have done better with and by the negro than any other white people, lacking their training, could have done. It is absolutely certain that, in their ordinary dealings with the negro, the Southern white people are kinder to him and more patient than any other people who come into relations with him. Cruelty of disposition does not explain the torture of the demon men burned to death for assaulting helpless women and tender little girls. The Southern people are not cruel and never were. They are kind-hearted people; good to one another and to all men. They are kind to dumb brutes. Whatever may be true or false about them, they were never cruel-hearted people. They were kind to the negroes when they were slaves; they are kind to them now.

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That speaker or writer who holds up the worst slave-holder of the old days as the type of all is a slanderer, whether from malice or ignorance; and he who represents a white Southern ruffian of to-day as representative of a whole people in their relation to the negroes is either ignorant, or depraved. Such representations are as devoid of truth and justice as would be the slander of a partisan Southerner who might affirm that a "sweating-house" and starving sewing-women represent the business of New York City.

I was asked to explain the burning of these negroes, not the killing of them. I give frankly my opinion: the people who burned them were for the time insane. In no other way can the general character of these people and their dealing with these victims of their fierce indignation be accounted for. Take the Paris case. That negro should have been arrested by the sheriff; he should have been duly committed to jail; he should have had a fair trial before a regular court and jury; if convicted, he should have been punished according to law by the officer whose business it is to enforce verdicts and sentences. It was illegal and morally wrong to lynch him by simply hanging or shooting. In organized society, lynching is not only anarchy; it is an anachronism. It is so much of the Dark Ages surviving in modern and civilized life. It was horrible to torture the guilty wretch; the burning was an act of insanity. But had the dismembered form of his victim been the dishonored body of my baby, I might also have gone into an insanity that might have ended never.

There are some collateral considerations that throw some light upon the whole subject before us; I wish to state only recognized facts, not to write in defence of anything wrong in my people. This phrase, "my people," I can but employ so long as the world sits in perpetual judgment upon our behavior, under conditions of which it has little knowledge and no experience. No race, not the most savage, tolerates the rape of women, but it may be said without reflection upon any other people that the Southern people are now and always have been most sensitive concerning the honor of their women —their mothers, wives, sisters, daughters. A single word questioning the purity of Southern women has cost many a man his life. Hardly any Southern jury will convict him who slays in defence of any woman whose natural protector he is. If a man is shot dead in the streets for insulting an honorable woman, his slayer will hardly spend a night in prison. He will generally be released on his own recog-

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nizance; if he need bond, all his neighbors will volunteer their aid. To these people, rape is a crime so monstrous that they do not conceive that it can belong to the ordinary categories of crimes. And it is undoubtedly true that when committed by one of an alien and recently enslaved race, it has an increment of exasperation not easy to estimate. The Paris mob would have burned the white mayor of their city, had he been the guilty man in the monstrous butchery of that pretty baby; but that their rage was the hotter because the wretch was a negro is most certain. And it would have been so in Boston: "blood is thicker than water."

The unmistakable increase of this crime—the assaulting of white women by negro men—enters into the explanation of these burnings. Legal punishments had been tried, yet the crime increased. Shootings and hangings without law had been tried, yet the crime increased. It is not to the purpose to remind me that the increase of crime is, or may be, the natural effect of the unlawful punishment of crime; I am writing of the influences that led to desperate and mad experiments with fire. Exasperations were cumulative, as in continued doses of digitalis. This particular crime was practically unknown before Emancipation. Only one case I heard mentioned from my childhood till after the War. The criminal was a slave, and he was burned. An ignorant race, that in and through the ministry of slavery had grown into all that made it better than naked Africans, were suddenly turned loose, without knowledge of civil law, into a freedom they did not understand, mistaking most naturally license for liberty. The recoil was tremendous. It is a wonder that the negro did not do worse. Presently came enfranchisement and complete citizenship without fitness of any sort. Under the political influences that dominated the negro during the period of reconstruction—more trying to Southern fortitude than the War itself—he was taught, in order that others might secure and maintain political control of him, to hate the white people. The manner of his enfranchisement and the methods employed by self-seeking demagogues in controlling his vote led him to believe that the gift of the ballot to him meant two things: first, the peculiar love the North had for him; second, that it was given to him to keep the old masters and rebels down. The inevitable result was to tend to make the negro lawless in his dealings with his white neighbors.

Added to the evil influences that grew out of corrupt and corrupting reconstruction politics, were unwise methods in the earlier efforts

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to educate him. Many consecrated, noble-minded, but mistaken missionary-teachers from the North were more impressive, if not more insistent, in teaching the young negro his rights, than in teaching him the responsibilities of citizenship. The result was, he became more anxious to secure his rights than to fit himself for their exercise. All these influences developed in thousands of the younger negroes a spirit of insubordination to the social order. Crimes of violence against the white race were the natural fruitage of the influences that dominated the younger negroes. Under the conditions of Southern life it was inevitable that these crimes should be met by violent punishment without law, and partly for the reason that Southern government was in the hands of strangers and negroes.

It became a habit to publish in a class of Northern papers all reports of violence done negroes, with little comment upon the crimes of negroes. In civil government, the white people of the South were virtually powerless. They did not trust governments which had been forced upon them and from which, for a long time, they were excluded. The negro grew more dangerous. Crimes increased, they were not put down by law; criticism and denunciation of every wrong done a negro by the whites became a habit as bitter as it was constant. The white people felt that they did not receive from the Northern people—to whom the negroes, till they learned better, looked for all truth and all guidance—the moral backing they knew they needed and believed they deserved. They began to take things into their own hands in sheer desperation, as natural as it was fierce. Let those who will deny what is here affirmed; the Southern people believed that these things were as they are here set forth. To this day, they believe that if papers and men, remote from them, said as much to the negro concerning the enormity of rape as they say to the white people concerning the enormity of lynching, raping would become less common. And in this they are right.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times was a recent meeting of intelligent and representative negro men at Waycross, Georgia. They considered the situation as it involves both races. They declared that the assaulting of white women by negro men must cease. They affirmed it on the ground of morals; they urged it on the ground of safety.

I have called special attention to the influence upon the younger negroes of emancipation and what followed it, for the reason that the older negroes were less affected by the evils of that period. Nearly

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all crimes of violence by the negroes are committed by those who were children in 1865 or who have been born since that time. Nearly all the negroes in Southern penitentiaries are under thirty-five; if any wish to test these statements, the facts are of record. If men do not wish to take the trouble of looking into records, let them use their eyes. The older negroes, as a class, are the best citizens as well as the best laborers to-day, as all Southern people know.

In these statements is no plea against the education of the enfranchised negro, but an invincible argument for it—which for many years I have made, by pen and tongue, to the best of my ability. The negro must be educated. The conservative influences that secured order under the old *régime* are gone; the uneducated negro is unfitted for the new order. It is absolutely necessary to both races that his education go on. As a rule, rapists and murderers among Southern negroes are not only products of *post-bellum* life; they are uneducated. It is the rarest thing that an educated negro commits these crimes against virtue and life. The great body of the negro population of the country utterly reprobate these crimes. And there is among their leaders a growing sense of the duty of teaching their people that they must come to an end. And it is time for them to think these thoughts. Let their Northern friends and helpers and guides encourage and exhort them to follow these good impressions and impulses. It is vital to the negro race that those they look to for guidance should teach them that rape must cease. At this time let them lay the emphasis of exhortation and warning on this particular crime against the white race. If the negro preachers and negro school-teachers can be awakened to their duty as to this particular matter, they can do more than all others put together. They are everywhere in the South; there are thousands of them; their people look up to them. All primary schools for negro children are taught by negro men and women; all negro pulpits, with exceptions too few to count, are occupied by negro preachers. If these teachers and preachers are brought to understand that upon them, at this time, is the exigent duty of teaching their people that the assaulting of white women must cease; if they use their influence as they can and ought—denouncing rape as much as they do lynching—the crime will be less common in a few weeks; by and by it will be so rare that lynchings will come to an end.

In our extremity we look to wise and just people in the Northern States to help us, to help both races. Without Northern coöperation

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things will go from bad to worse. At least a million negroes can now read. Let our Northern friends more earnestly (well I know how earnestly many of them have done their duty in all these matters) help them to see that their education puts them under moral obligation to teach, to exhort and to warn their people, and they will begin to do these things. Let our Northern friends impress the negro preachers and teachers with the necessity of teaching, exhorting and warning their people against this particular crime, and they will begin to do these things.

Unless potent influences can be brought to bear upon the negro race that will awaken it to the enormity of assaulting white women, the worst for both races is yet to come and the most dreadful chapters in this sad and fearful history are yet to be written.

ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD.

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HAVE AMERICAN NEGROES TOO MUCH LIBERTY?

THE rapid increase of crime among the negroes of the South and the alarming frequency of the most brutal outrages upon white women and children have excited the serious apprehension of every good citizen. What is the cause? and What is the remedy? are questions that agitate the public mind.

For twenty-five years the Southern people have been hopefully waiting for the solution of the problem whether or not two distinct races can live together in peace. Every effort has been made that would favor an affirmative answer—every effort save that for social equality, and that will never be made. Its refusal is generally called race-prejudice by alien philanthropists; but "prejudice" is not the right word. Prejudice is judgment without knowledge. The term would well apply to those who have never lived in the South and have not known the negroes, either as slaves or as freedmen; but surely it does not fit those who were reared with them and have mingled with them for half a century and more. That there is a natural antipathy is admitted. It has existed in all ages and in all countries wherever the white race and the African race have come in contact. It is not antipathy because of tint, for it affects the brightest mulatto as much as the blackest negro, but it is a natural aversion to a race inferior, distinct and marked in so many ways by the Creator. This aversion is not unkind, and it bears no ill-will; on the contrary, the old masters felt and manifested the kindest sympathy with their servants, and the present employers are equally considerate of their welfare, whenever the relation is partial control on one side and acknowledged dependence upon the other.

Twenty-five years of vain experiment, we suppose, have satisfied the North that this aversion to social or political equality with the negro cannot be overcome by laws or statutes. Those laws remain as dead letters and as monuments to the folly of those who passed them, and the negro to-day cannot abide in some portions of Ohio and Indiana, nor take a walk in Asbury Park, nor be shampooed in a Northern barber-shop, any more than he can take rooms in a South-

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ern hotel. With the Southern people, this aversion is not because he was once a slave and is now a freedman. There is no resentment in it, for before the War there were many free persons of color in the South, many who were born free; and they are not exempt from the aversion. The confidential, trusted servants who followed their masters to the War and cared for them when sick or wounded and returned with them after the surrender, most surely had their good will—yes, their gratitude—and they have it yet; but the line is drawn. They too must share the disability of their race.

It was believed by Northern philanthropists and by many Southern statesmen and law-makers that education would change and better the status of the negro and not only make him fit to be a citizen, but elevate him morally and socially. Much money has been expended in this direction, and for a while his progress seemed to be satisfactory so far as his ability to learn the rudiments was concerned, for he certainly has mental capacity beyond what was expected. But education does not assure good citizenship. Education without moral training has proved to be a curse instead of a blessing. The duties that appertain to good citizenship, such as honesty, truth, chastity, industry and respect for the Sabbath, are not taught in the schools.

How is it with the negroes who have had for many years an equal share of the public school fund in Georgia? They have more than two thousand teachers in the State, besides those in the University and other endowed institutions. The pupils show marked progress at every examination, and yet there are twenty-two hundred negroes in the chain-gangs; sixty per cent of these are under thirty years of age; forty per cent can read and write, forty per cent are members of the church in good standing, and thirteen hundred and fifty are confined for larceny in some form. It is safe to say that if all the young negroes who steal were prosecuted, there would be five times the number in the chain-gang. But employers are kind and generally condone the offence, especially when the lost articles are restored. These small pilferings are considered the perquisites of employment and are committed with the usual idea of "you don't miss what I takes."

This great numerical difference between the white and black convicts cannot be accounted for except upon the theory that stealing is a race trait of the negro and that he can hardly help it. His necessities will not explain it, for he cannot eat or clothe himself with ear-

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rings, breast-pins, parasols or perfumery. But one thing is certain, the negro does not get the moral training that makes him fear to steal. In most cases, he fears God not at all and man but little. He has no idea of repentance or remorse, but he has nevertheless an emotional, spasmodic, meeting-house religion that he enjoys, for it condones every past offence and serves as an indulgence for the future. All negroes are Methodists or Baptists, and all are elected to salvation and are on the way to glory. Not one has any fear of being lost, not even the vilest brute under the gallows. But with all this the negroes are good servants. They love to do you a favor. The cook, the washerwoman, the housemaid will come in the night to wait upon you in sickness. They are ever kind and willing when in a domestic relation to the white folks, but their right to small perquisites is maintained. The average negro has not many very heinous offences to answer for. His stealings are generally of articles of small value. A Northern lady who was kind and trusting lost her beautiful lace that cost ten francs a yard in Paris. The hired girl who stole it had for two years received many favors at her hands. She was well educated and had good manners, but the temptation was irresistible. She did not know it cost so much, or she would have taken a piece of less value. The cook abstracts flour and lard and coffee. The washerwoman wears your wife's skirts and stockings. The hired man takes home after night a little coal or wood. The housemaid appropriates handkerchiefs and perfumes them from the bureau.

As messengers, when intrusted with valuable things to be delivered, negroes formerly were always faithful. This was a peculiar trait of the race. At Eutah, Alabama, an old negro was on trial for stealing a half-box of tobacco. Two half-boxes had been intrusted to him to be hauled to a country store several miles away, and when he reached his destination he had but one and could not account for the other. His only explanation was that he went to sleep, for the day was hot and the road was through deep sand, and somebody must have slipped the box off the wagon. His conviction seemed inevitable and the case was about to go to the jury when a venerable white man, who was sitting near, arose and said with sympathetic feeling, "May it please your Honor, I should like to volunteer a word in behalf of this unfortunate negro. I do not believe he stole that box of tobacco. I was reared with negroes—many negroes around the household and on the farm. The first milk I ever drew was from a negro woman's breast, and in my youth and manhood and old age I have mingled

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with them and studied their failings and their virtues. I say now in all sincerity I never knew one to betray a trust. They will steal and they will tell falsehoods, but when you intrust anything to them to be carried and delivered to another, they will do it. I never knew an exception. I appeal to your Honor and to these lawyers and this jury for an answer if you ever knew one. No, he did not steal that tobacco and it will yet appear that some other negro took it while he was asleep in his wagon." The jury acquitted him, and in a few weeks the real thief was discovered and convicted.

But negroes of that type were of the past generation. Those who have come after them have sadly degenerated. Old Aunt Jinny has been a faithful wife, but her daughters have gone to the bad and their children are the old woman's care and her shame. 'Cinda's bright boy is in the chain-gang for forgery. He got a little too much education and it ruined him for honest work. The towns and cities are full of such victims, victims of mistaken philanthropy, victims of prejudice—judgment without knowledge of the negro's character. That "a little learning is a dangerous thing" is not true in the common acceptation of its meaning. A little education is all that the negro needs. The excess has proved his ruin. Let him learn the rudiments, to read and to write and to cipher, and be made to mix that knowledge with some useful labor. As it is, negroes are advanced to higher mathematics and composition, and they become the "dudes" and the vagabonds of the town. They dress finely at somebody else's expense, and both males and females have become lazy and insolent. They have ceased to show proper respect to the white people, and they will not work for them, so long as they can avoid it. The alienation is going on, widening, deepening and intensifying. The white man is losing his sympathy and the negro his feeling of dependence. Too much education and too little work are the prime cause of this growing antipathy. With the whites there are some reasons for a higher education, for the professions and the trades are open to them, but all these are closed to the negro. His only resource is manual labor, and the education that he is receiving unfits him for this. And so the negroes live from day to day, from hand to mouth, sponging upon their working friends or kindred; and yet they are able somehow to patronize every excursion and picnic that the more enterprising ones get up. Tramps and vagabonds are multiplying in the neighborhood of all towns and cities, and from these the convict-camps are supplied. The six counties in Georgia

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that have the largest cities and the best-equipped public schools have furnished more than half the convicts. The large farms in the cotton-belt, where the negroes work by families and are controlled by white landlords, do not help to swell the chain-gang. This control is absolutely necessary for the negro's welfare, and the more intimate the relation between landlord and tenant, between the employer and the employed, the better it is for the race. This is shown everywhere by the good-will existing between the draymen and their patrons, the porters and the merchants, the barbers and their customers, the domestic servants and those who employ them.

Still there is friction between the races, and the more negroes the more friction. At Pine Bluff, in Arkansas, where the negroes are three to one of the whites, they are a constant menace, and nothing but the influence of a very wealthy negro who owns several bar-rooms prevents a conflict. White children go to one school and negro children to another, but they pass and repass on the way and come in hostile contact. There was a bond of sympathy among the parents, but there is none among the children of the two races. Wherever the negroes dominate in numbers, they are arrogant and insolent. This is the curse of Tallahassee and Fernandina. The large ocean hotel that Northern men built at Fernandina for Northern visitors is without guests, because the negroes control the town. They are a menace wherever they are densely settled. Where they are in a helpless minority they are respectful and give no trouble. There are towns and communities in Texas where they are not wanted and are not tolerated, except in the most menial capacity. At Weatherford, young white men drive the drays and the hacks and are the barbers and hostlers and mechanics, and no negro need apply. Not one is allowed to rest for a night in Comanchee. On the fertile cotton-lands of the Brazos, they live in peace and multiply, but that is because that region was considered unhealthy and the whites would not venture there. There is a thriving negro town on the railroad near by, and there no white man neeed apply. In the coast region of North Carolina, where the negroes outnumber the whites ten to one, they are now in mutiny against their landlords, and the State militia had to be called on recently to enforce the law.

This much to show that there is no affinity, but a steadily increasing friction between the races. Whatever is the measure of blame upon either race for this, is not the question. The important fact is that it exists and that there seems to be no remedy. It is a

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race-conflict—just such a conflict as has in all history been the cause of wars and tumults.

The contrast between the negro's good nature and his bad nature is perhaps more marked than the same contrast in any other race. When a desire to indulge his bad passions comes over him, he seems to be utterly devoid of prudence or of conscience. The end he aims at will justify the means, whether it be arson or burglary or theft or murder or outrage upon a child. The consequences of his crime do not disturb him, and he can eat as heartily and sleep as soundly with blood upon his hands as without. A bad negro is the most horrible human creature upon the earth, the most brutal and merciless. The negro who was burned at Paris, Texas, said with careless indifference when speaking of the child he had murdered, "I split her open and throwed her off in the bushes." To most negroes, neither jails nor chain-gangs have any great terrors, for in both they can eat and sleep, and the records show eight per cent of the convicts serving a second term. Even the better class, whether they be preachers or teachers, are never made cowards by conscience, nor do they suffer the stings of remorse.

Before the War, the marriage-relation among the negroes was kept almost inviolate. When it was broken, it was broken by the white man. The result was the mulattoes, whom the slave-woman was proud to claim, and she felt no dishonor. Since the day when Abraham took his servant Hagar for his concubine, the inferior race has always aspired to such association with the superior. But since the War, this relation between the races has practically ceased. The negro woman is no longer Hagar, and Ishmael has ceased to be. The rule is reversed. The negro man aspires to the white woman, and if he cannot get her he will take her child. How far this is a prevalent desire of the coming generation of negroes, we cannot know, but doubtless there are thousands who would do, if they could safely, what only a few dare to do. This is shown by the silence of their press and their pulpits touching the enormity of the crime. They cry out against the lynchings, but they make no effort to stop the outrages that provoke them. Indeed, two of their papers have called lynching retaliation in kind, and if the outrage were not followed by the murder of the victim they would not realize that any great crime had been committed. Another evidence of this aspiration is that the dark-colored negro men will intermarry with mulatto women whenever they can, while mulatto men will not mate with black women.

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Indeed, there is among the mulattoes generally as much aversion to the black negro as exists among the whites. The line of caste is drawn socially and otherwise. Quadroons, octoroons and pure mulattoes marry, but a flat-nosed, thick-lipped African must mate with his color and his kind.

Before the War, there was seldom a personal outrage of the kind indicated, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. There was one near Cedar Bluff in Alabama in 1852 that attracted much attention. The negro culprit was burned at the stake, and the pile of stones that was heaped over his grave near the ferry remains there to this day. Now, constant publications in the daily papers show that these crimes are not only increasing in frequency, but in their horror and brutality. What degree of brutal passion a wretch can reach who would whet his knife and lie in wait for a little school-girl twelve years old, and after he had seized and gagged and ravished her, cut her throat and drag her to a ditch and tumble her in, is past human conception! The thought of the awful misery of that child, as she agonized her innocent life away in the clutches of the fiend, is enough to freeze the heart of the Angel of Mercy. How unutterable is the grief of the parents who loved her and watched daily for her coming! The lynching of such a monster, think many people in the South, is nothing—nothing compared with what he has done. If punishment, according to the old barbarous notion, should be proportioned to crime, if there should be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, there is no torture that could suffice. Fire would be only too mild and instant death too speedy. The lynching that follows is but the outcry of fears and feelings long smothered—the explosion of the charge when the fuse has reached the powder.

No wonder that New England, with all her fondness for the negro, who is far away, cannot understand these lynchings or the intensity of the feeling that provokes them. But the South does not heed these reproaches nor care for these criticisms. The wives and daughters of the Southern people are their dearest heritage, and they will defend and avenge them. Some radical change will have to be made in the laws if crime and outrage continue. The negro will have to be disfranchised and a separate code enacted, that will fit him. Corporal punishment is the only kind that has ever reformed him. This may be idly called pessimism, but it is not. The apprehension is growing, and like a dark shadow it broods over the land. It is felt far more in the country than in the towns and cities, where protection

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is at hand. Country schools for white children cannot be maintained where there is a negro population intervening. Some have been already broken up and abandoned for lack of patronage—patronage that would have been given, but for the presence of the negroes. The tendency everywhere is for the whites to rent out their farms and move to the towns, where they can safely educate their children. All who can come do come, and now there are left in the rural districts none but the negroes and the poor whites—the poor whites who work the highways, serve on the juries and fight our battles in war, the poor whites for whom the negro has contempt and the Northern philanthropist no sympathy. Large sums of money are piled up in universities and colleges for the negro—piled up to teach him Greek and Latin and the sciences, for which he has no use, while hundreds of the poor whites cannot afford even the time that the country school would take from work. They know all this and feel it, and if ever a race war is precipitated, they will be in at the death. Poverty and the negro overshadow them.

This momentous question is before the South. Seven millions of negroes are face to face with fifteen million whites. How much longer can they live in harmony? It is a more vital question than silver or gold or the tariff, and the Southern Congressmen who fail to consider it are either blind or lacking in statesmanship. It is the great national question, that will not down at our bidding.

CHAS. H. SMITH.

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THE REVIVAL OF THE DRAMA.

In that most fascinating of biographies—Moore's "Life and Letters of Lord Byron"—we read how the poet, then in the zenith of his powers, having exhausted every known sensation, was thrown into dangerous convulsions by witnessing Alfieri's "Mirra," in company with his beloved, Guiccioli. The attack was so severe that he felt the effects for a fortnight. He had a similar fit when some years earlier he saw Kean as Sir Giles Overreach. Byron, with all his faults, was not a nincompoop; he valued himself, and with good reason, on his personal nerve. There can be little doubt that the seizure was genuine and uncontrollable, and it remains a signal instance of the power of great acting over a poetic nature. This power has been felt in all ages with varying intensity, though perhaps it is rather at an ebb in our own. And that, in spite of the greatly revived interest we all now take in the stage, and the great amount of money, thought, and learning which is devoted to the theatre both in Britain and in America.

It is incontestable that our stage, as a whole, exhibits far higher standards of cultivation than did that of our fathers, say some thirty or forty years ago. Those who can remember the English theatre of that time may wonder how they ever could sit out in patience the historical play, the "genteel" comedy, and the second-class melodrama of that epoch. The farces were good—very good: there were in Europe one or two consummate actors: and there was still surviving an experienced body of old play-goers who had seen the grandest acting of modern times. But the *mise-en-scène*, the attempt at historic setting, the "supers" and chorus, walking-gentlemen, lords and ladies,—all these were too painful to look back upon. When we read the "Life of Dickens," Macready's "Memoirs," Charlotte Bronté's picture of Queen Vashti, or George H. Lewes' sensible little book on Acting, we get some sense of the relations of literature and the stage forty years ago, some idea of that tragic delirium which threw a great poet into convulsions in the generation preceding. But forty years ago there were educated people outside Islington who told you that

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Phelps' Macbeth was grand, who believed firmly in Charles Kean's "revivals," in Gustavus Vasa Brooks' Richard III, and who never flinched under the cockney vulgarisms and the Tom-and-Jerry swagger of the "courtiers," the "Honourable Chawleses" and the Lord Verisophts, presenting what we were assured were the manners of high life. It makes one hot to remember what we could sit through in our raw youth. Certainly they do far better now.

In the first place, the local and historical setting of a high-class play is now really a thing to enjoy and even to study. The "Merchant of Venice," "Hamlet," "Henry VIII," and a score of Mr. Irving's pieces, have been a true pleasure to witness, supposing them to be mere *tableaux* without words. The stage at the Lyceum is too crowded, the sense of wanton costliness in the costumes is unpleasant, and—and—but I will not finish the sentence—. Still, the general effect was that of a beautiful picture, regarded simply as a scene, and moreover of a true, consistent, and fairly accurate revival of a striking historic panorama. This is, I believe, the main achievement of our generation in the improvement of the stage. Costumes, scenery, groupings, accessories, are real works of art—and in the main are true, thoughtful, even learned. Ours is the real age of historic reproduction. We may take it as certain that, in the history of the world, there never was a time when the exact picture of distant ages and races was reproduced with an illusion so complete. It is a very valuable mode of education, and might be carried much farther. Our revived Greek Plays can teach even scholars a good deal; and a historian might gain an idea from the *mise-en-scène* of "Becket," even if we suppose the historian deaf, or otherwise unable to follow the Martyr's speeches. We live in an age especially great in the historic *mise-en-scène*, and we ought to be thankful.

It is not only the stage decorations, costumes, scenery, and historic realism which have greatly improved in the present generation. The rank and file, if they have not yet grown to be finished actors, no longer set our teeth on edge with excruciating vulgarisms and grotesque ignorance of the habits and speech of ladies and gentlemen. According to "Punch," young men of birth and breeding are now flooding the stage, and an actor or two is indispensable at a Duchess' tea-party. Whatever be the cause, the manners of the stage are greatly improved, especially in light comedy, and the ordinary "society" play. The difference between a "genteel comedy" in 1843 and one in 1893 is the difference between the servants' hall and the

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drawing-room. In farce they were then very good, and in melodrama sometimes effective enough. But in presenting the polite society of their own day, the utility men and women of fifty years ago spoke like valets and lady's maids, and had hardly any higher education outside of their purely professional training. We have changed all that. The company of a first-class English theatre have not yet reached that easy perfection of the Comédie Française—say in "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie," or in "La joie fait peur"; but tone of voice, look, bearing, are not outrageously unlike those of real society; and however much it falls short of fine acting, a modern comedy does not become an utter farce. Mr. Irving, Mr. Tree, Mr. Bancroft, and Mr. Kendal, have accustomed us to see contemporary life presented on the stage of their theatres with a very fair approach to reality, and with perhaps little more of paint, "deportment," and false emphasis, than what is almost inseparable from footlights and boards—at least from English boards.

There is another significant change—on the whole a change for the better. The melodrama of the old Surrey and the old Adelphi, the dramatized tales of the Harrison Ainsworth period, which Nicholas Nickleby presented to the provinces, were indescribable burlesques of passion, adventure, and crime, as traditionally understood on the minor stage. An actor of parts would occasionally strike out from them a lurid flash of horror and agony, and there was a certain rattle and ring about them, in spite of their gross extravagance. But as a whole they deserved the contempt to which our better taste and improved culture have consigned them. Their place has been taken by pure realism, the exact representation of familiar sights: a house on fire, a criminal court, a sweater's den, a soldiers' street row, or a picnic on the river. Why crowds should pay their money to see on the stage a policeman, a guardsman, a fire-engine, a race-horse, and a coster's jackass, which they can see in the streets any day without paying at all; why a city public should be delighted to see itself in a colored photograph behaving just as it does outside, in the identical clothes, with identical animals, vehicles, and other properties, is a mystery. It is not art; it is not education; it is not fun. It is pure commonplace, and utterly dull. But it is harmless, and on the whole it is better than gross melodramatic rant.

It is easy then to sum up the features wherein the English stage of to-day has made distinct advance upon the stage of the fortys and the fiftys. First and foremost comes the artistic and intelligent set-

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ting of great historic plays; next, the rank and file at the best theatres can present modern life with some fair resemblance to what we see in the world, and not in a coarse stage convention; lastly, the melodramas of the second and third class have replaced intolerable burlesque by photographic realism, which, however pointless and ugly, is neither depraving nor absurd. These are distinct gains, but they are not gains of a very high order. They would hardly suffice to throw Byron into convulsions. Do they add appreciably to the incorporation of the higher theatre with the greater literature? Has our drama thereby become a substantive part, an essential, a beautiful part of our poetry and of our art? Does our modern stage feed, stimulate, and interpret the higher imagination in its best work? Is it a trivial amusement or a true civilizing force?

The question is a very fair one, but by no means easy to answer. During the whole period of Attic tragedy, during the whole period of Attic comedy, old, middle, and new, that is to say practically from the battle of Marathon to the Roman dominion, this was certainly true of the Greek theatre, that it was a civilizing force. It was true of the age of Plautus, Terence, and even Seneca. It was true of the Passion-plays and Miracle-plays of the Middle Ages. It was true of the age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Dryden, and Congreve. It was true of Garrick and Goldsmith, of the age of the Kembles, of Sheridan, of Byron. It was obviously so in the age of the Spanish drama and also in the age of Louis XIV; and it was so in the best age of the opera. It was so with Alfieri and with Göthe, Schiller, and Lessing. During almost every great epoch of literary creation, the tragic and the comic genius have found an instinctive affinity with the drama, have given to the drama of their best, and have found inspiration in the stage. Ours is an age, we are constantly reminded, of splendid genius. Does that genius give as much to the drama, find as much in the drama, as in so many various phases of civilization it was wont to do?

Take our tragedies and great historical plays. They are certainly presented now with far greater knowledge, taste, and scenic art than perhaps at any former time. As *tableaux vivants*, the best of them are nearly perfect. Shakespeare would at last come to believe himself to be a mighty poet (an idea which on earth never seems to have crossed his mind for an instant) if he could see Mr. Irving's Hamlet, Wolsey, Shylock, or Mary Anderson's "Winter's Tale," or Mr. Benson's "Midsummer Night's Dream," Mr. Tree's "Merry Wives

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of Windsor"—provided his ears had been carefully plugged with cotton wool. To the eye the effect is perfect. But this is not enough. Is the *acting* of Shakespeare adequate to-day? To those who have seen really great acting, to those who have carefully studied the traditions of the stage, and who have heard from competent judges what Kean, Mrs. Siddons, Miss O'Neill, and Kemble were, the question has but one answer. For sixty or seventy years at least, no really great tragedian has ever been heard in English. Those who saw Rachel at her best in Phèdre have known what great tragic acting can be; and we might add perhaps Got at his best, Salvini in his prime in Otello, Ristori at her best, in Rosmunda, and perhaps Sarah Bernhardt, at her best, in Andromaque. But it must be remembered that all of these have been seen very far from at their best, and especially on a foreign stage to an unsympathetic audience very imperfectly understanding their language. Let us take as a standard of measurement—Rachel, between 1840–1850, playing Phèdre at her best to a French audience. That was consummate tragic acting. For seventy years no English tragedian has ever approached that standard.

We all admire the thoughtfulness, the ingenuity, the varied accomplishments of Mr. Irving, of the late Mr. Booth, and of Mr. Tree and of others who are certainly actors of great merit; and Mary Anderson, Ellen Terry, Ada Rehan, Mrs. Langtry and the rest, are charming women, who at times touch a very sweet note. But when we come to measure our present tragic acting by a really high standard, we cannot count a single man of the first rank, nor a single woman of the second. The result is that our tragedies, even the best on the best stage, remain spectacles—things to look at, things to think over, and to learn from—but they never touch such chords of feeling as Mirra and Sir Giles Overreach roused in Byron, nor even wring a tear or a sob from the most impressionable woman. We come away with several tips on archæology and some new readings from the "second folio"; and we say "What a lovely costume she wore to-night!"—"How wonderfully he makes up for Hamlet!"—but we are happily spared convulsions which make us ill for a fortnight. We have grown out of such nonsense; we go on to late "crush," and talk about it as we do of the Private View of the New Gallery. That is to say, a tragedy with us to-day is a refined form of entertainment, but is no longer a living well-spring of poetic life.

Our average of culture in modern play and comedy is very much

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higher, the whole scenic business is far better, and the insufferable "staginess" of forty years ago is purged out of us. But it would be rash to assert that the leading parts of tragedy, comedy, or farce are really better acted now. Those who remember all that Macready and Charles Kean did to make Shakespeare popular, all that Wigan and Matthews did for comedy, all that Robson and Keeley did for farce, will hesitate to assert that we have superior actors to-day. Our companies are far more educated; we put everything on the stage with infinitely greater art; we have suppressed a mass of vulgarity and bombast. But the leading parts are not better filled than they were two generations ago. They still remain a whole class below the best contemporary acting of the continent; and they cannot be named with the best English acting of the early years of this century, nor even judged by the standard which experienced play-goers now living have been taught to recognize as great art.

All this is a very unpopular thing to say, and is sure to provoke even angry rejoinders. The heat of party politics is mild in comparison with the heat of affairs of taste. To disparage a man's favorite actor is an offence, we all know, worse than to doubt about his wife's style of dress, or the absolute sanitation of his house-drain. Many men, especially of the younger generation and such as have had no opportunities of ever seeing the higher acting at all, cannot believe that what has given them so much pleasure can belong to any but the highest type. And most young men now and then become the loyal liegemen of some fascinating actress, whom, in the delightful *abandon* peculiar to their age and condition, they take to be the equal of the terrific Rachel or the irresistible Sarah. It is the duty of the older generation and of the larger experience to correct their pardonable extravagances and their generous illusions; to insist on the permanent standards of all noble art, and the far-reaching importance of maintaining that art in all its reaction over life.

The really important thing in the matter is that with which we set out—the interaction of Literature, Art, and the Drama, using all three terms in their high sense as great civilizing forces. Is the relation of poetry and the stage to-day all that it might be, all that in some ages it has been? Does the stage continue to add lasting works of real genius to our literature? Do our poets, our romancers, and thinkers work for the stage, draw from the stage? It was an event when the great poet of the Victorian age first, in his later period, produced an acting drama. He did so towards the close of his career,

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with some hesitation and distaste, and in just rivalry with the great poet of France. It cannot be said that his dramas hold any such place in his total work as do the dramas of Hugo in his work; nor are "Harold" and "Becket" at all destined to hold such a place in English literature, as "Hernani" and "Ruy Blas" hold in French literature. In spite of the beautiful setting in which we witness "Becket," and its own interest as poetry, the true Tennysonian will always rate "In Memoriam," the Lyrics, and the Songs, as of vastly higher power. Tennyson wrote for the stage late in his career, doubtfully and without adding much to his established reputation. And, except Tennyson, we have hardly a single example of any writer of "the front bench" of our literature who has produced a single acting drama that now holds the stage or is ever likely to do so. Browning, Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, Swinburne, Lewis Morris, Buchanan and many others have written dialogues, lyrical dramas, and dramatic fantasias; but there is not one acting play among these pieces, nor has the stage of to-day ever colored a line of them.

It is true that there are men of real ability who produce effective plays, and men of letters and of various powers who take a keen interest in the stage. But the vast bulk of our stage pieces are the work of playwrights rather than poets, and the severance of the purely literary and the theatrical world is very marked. It would be difficult to find any age or any country where the severance had been so complete. In France the majority of men of letters have tried their hand at a play or two; and the stage contributes an important part to the national literature.

What is the cause? The most immediate cause is this—that the English stage of to-day, though sufficiently cultivated to form an occasional entertainment, is not sufficiently alive to occupy the serious hours of men of "light and leading." Men of light and leading never find their imagination set on fire by any really great acting on an English stage; and it rarely occurs to them that the imagination can achieve some of its noblest work on the stage and by the instrument of the drama. The late Laureate gave them a clear and brave example; but he was so unfamiliar with the whole dramatic business, that his example failed to encourage his poetic and literary compeers. Mr. Irving reminded him that the public loved its sensations rather vivid: and no one can doubt that Mr. Irving knew his public.

England is not, never was, and perhaps never can be, the home

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of the greatest acting. A Garrick, a Kean, may appear once in a century, just as a Shakespeare or a Göthe may. But Englishmen as compared with Frenchmen, Italians, even with Germans and Hungarians and Poles, are not born actors, and, except in farce, with difficulty rise to what in Europe is counted mediocrity. In farce and in burlesque, we have always been strong; but that is not a form of art which easily allies itself to the higher imagination. There are moreover special hindrances to great art, and these have been multiplied by railroads and all the mobility of recent habits. The capital is a nation in itself—and a nation which is always moving. The enormous extent of London makes it costly and troublesome to go to a theatre constantly. London again contains a vast floating population, which business and pleasure have drawn there for a few weeks or even days. This nomad body is as numerous as the whole population of a great city. It has abundant leisure in the evening, craves a little novelty and distraction, and is quite the reverse of critical. There is thus no permanent and trained audience in a London theatre. It is largely made up of casual elements from the provinces or the suburbs, who are not regular play-goers, who have a minimum of culture and are very easily pleased with a lively entertainment.

Now the essential conditions of a really great theatre are: first, a permanent and trained audience; next, freedom from pecuniary anxieties and any temptation to get big houses by sensations and spectacles; and lastly, a vigorous, independent, and dominant school of criticism. The audience must come regularly and be perfectly familiar with each piece and each actor. A regular and highly trained audience will of course require a considerable *répertoire* and a constant change in the bill. It will insist on a wide range of contrasted pieces, and each actor appearing in new characters. This makes "runs" impossible. And a "run of a hundred nights" spells poor playing, for it means that the theatre is nightly filled with a succession of casual visitors, who can have no serious opinion of their own, and whose opinion, except that they pay their money, does not concern the actor or the manager. When a piece runs for a hundred or two hundred nights, it involves the shutting the doors of the house on all regular playgoers for 96 or 196 nights; for no rational lover of the drama can care to see the same piece more than three or four times within a few months, unless he go to the theatre to see his friends or exhibit his devotion to a particular "star." Unless the playbill is continually varied, the audience must be a nomad and

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casual one. And a casual audience is *ex vi termini* ignorant, uncritical, easily satisfied, and unable to influence the players—for the bulk of them have come to see a gorgeous spectacle or to say they have seen a famous actor.

A theatre which has to depend on the daily reports from the till is under constant pressure of the most urgent kind to fill the house —*rem*, *quocunque modo*, *rem*, is the motto, *rem* meaning a big house. Now, we all know that a house may be filled by gorgeous costumes, real water, and a new use of the electric light. The higher class of managers have shown a really noble courage in resisting the temptation to degrade the theatre. But they must live. And they have to compromise: they begin with a beautiful and correct setting of their piece; it passes on into fine clothes, costly properties, and the greasy "boom" business, so that the most high-principled manager finds that he will be ruined, unless his piece can run a hundred nights. If it does, he gets a low-class audience and shuts his doors on the really trained judges. No company can be really trained unless they constantly play to a body of competent judges. And these must be guided by a school of criticism of a high intellectual order, having command of great literary organs. The company also, either by *esprit de corps*, the joint-stock system, or some internal organization, needs to be as strictly disciplined as a good ship's crew, and should be as completely in the hands of a competent captain. This is how "the House of Molière" has flourished for two centuries; and every great theatre abroad or at home. The conditions of a great theatre are (1) a regular, trained, and judicial audience; (2) a pecuniary position independent of speculation or fortune-hunting, able to dispense with "runs" and "bumper" houses; (3) a company under absolute discipline playing before a school of criticism, of high culture, fearless independence, and paramount authority.

It will be said that these conditions, and perhaps any one of them, are impossible in England or in America. And perhaps they may be, in the absence of any assistance from the State, in the cost here of all first-rate artistic power, and in the chaos of all critical judgment. Under the present arrangements of society, the market price ruling everything we do, it must be allowed that a theatre organized on a high level is not to be dreamed of. But there is a conceivable plan on which (dream though it be) we might see a great theatre grow up and flourish. A great theatre would require a large trained body of actors, receiving regular and liberal salaries on a permanent en-

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gagement, with a stake in the fortunes of the house and a voice in its management, but otherwise liberally maintained and under strict discipline. The pieces must be varied, and both parts and pieces continually interchanged. The appointments must be beautiful, complete, and correct. The director must have complete control, and yet have no temptation to fill his pockets or to exhibit his own genius. These conditions involve, it is obvious, a large deficit at the end of the year. Such a house would not be crowded with nomad bagmen and cockneys on the spree, but by a regular and trained body of critical play-goers. And such an audience would not pay for a large company at high and permanent salaries, an artistic and learned *mise-en-scène*, and a play-bill varied two or three times a week. Who then is going to meet the deficit? For it is perfectly certain that, in England and America, the State will not contribute a cent.

I believe the day will come when public-spirited citizens will undertake this social duty on public grounds. There is no end to which wealth, taste, and munificence could more properly devote itself. Libraries, museums, institutes, parks, picture-galleries, and colleges, are continually being dedicated to the public by generous benefactors who desire to make a social use of some part of their fortune. Why does not one of these men found a theatre and endow it for a given period, or run a theatre on a grand scale out of his own purse? Such theatres as the Comédie Française could be run for ten or twenty years at least for the same capital sum as is sunk in a college or a gallery of pictures. Of course the public would pay at the doors the current rates, and the founder would have to meet only the annual deficit, and he could always fill the theatre with gratuitous orders judiciously distributed. All great theatres that are known to history were supported by the munificence of private citizens. The theatre at Athens was maintained during the whole of its glorious career by these means, which were known as "*liturgies*," or public services. So was the theatre and indeed all the spectacles at Rome, both under Republic and Empire. So was the theatre of the age of Louis XIV, so was that of Weimar in the age of Göthe. And out of the same system arose the opera and almost the whole of the music of modern Europe, whether for chamber or theatre. Our later age has determined to deal in drama just as it deals in pork—and we see the result in the system of "stars," spectacular pieces, and the advertising boom.

It must be surely some kind of antiquated religious prejudice

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which has hitherto diverted from the theatre the munificent stream of public benefactions which flow so freely for other forms of art. Why do we retain for this branch of art alone the rigid idea of money down and market value for the money? In ancient times the theatre was a public and even a religious festival, and the audience always had gratuitous entrance. In a gallery of ancient masters, a museum of antiquities or a scientific institute, it is not thought essential to take money at the doors, nor is the value of the collection to be measured by the numbers who pass the turnstiles. The National Museums of Europe and America, to which citizens are free, contain on the whole more than is open to the paying public at the World's Fair. There is no absolute bond between excellence and price. Many a precious thing is free to all: many a costly thing is worthless to every one. And this is especially true of Art, where cost and value are not seldom in inverse ratio to each other. A great theatre must be a theatre on an intellectual, moral, and social level with a great collection of art treasures. It can never be maintained by the money taken at the doors, till the culture and habits of our people are entirely transformed. And the only way in which it can be maintained is by the munificence of some citizen of great wealth, high culture, and ardent public spirit.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

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MEDICAL ETIQUETTE, QUACKS AND SECRET REMEDIES.

Is it necessary or useful to have for medicine, or for other professions, what is briefly and popularly called a code of etiquette? And if so, is such a code useful, alone or chiefly, to the profession for which it is framed, or is it also at least as useful and valuable in the public interest, and for the benefit of the community at large?

These are questions of great interest to those whom physicians serve, and of not less vital importance to the whole community than they are to physicians themselves as a professional body. In the argument which I shall submit, public considerations will play at least as large a part as the special regard for any professional duties or privileges. During the last few decades the complications and developments of modern civilization, the stress and urgency of competitive commercialism, the rising power of the press, the potency and temptation of advertisement, the commercial value of notoriety, the fortunes that attend the possessors of a vaunted or attractive secret, the potential wealth of exclusive patents, have become increasingly important factors which have to be taken into account in discussing how far and in what respects they affect the professional codes which have traditionally guided our own and other professions.

Let us for a moment look at the practice of other honored professions, and compare the principles of the medical code of etiquette with those of that which they follow; for it will enable us more readily to examine the matter, not from an exclusive, but from a universal standpoint. The legal profession, which in many of its public relations most nearly resembles our own, has a strict etiquette and its own methods of enforcing discipline. A distinguished friend, Sir Edward Clarke, lately Solicitor-General of England, briefly summarized the effect of that code (in a letter which he addressed to me last month, replying to a question which I put to him on this subject) as follows—"that a lawyer is bound to be honest, honorable and truthful, and that if he is not, other people are bound to have nothing

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to do with him." You will notice the stringency of the last proposition. And it is barbed by the fact that in England, where there are two recognized classes of legal practitioners, questions of etiquette in respect to barristers are determined by the Attorney-General, and those as to the etiquette of solicitors are decided by the judges on the intervention of a legally empowered body, the Incorporated Law Society. Those powers extend to the temporary suspension or complete deprivation of the privilege to practise in respect to any offence of sufficient magnitude, whether it affects the technical conduct of the offender as a lawyer or his private conduct as a citizen. In talking this matter over recently, a distinguished American lawyer mentioned to me particular cases of legal etiquette in which, as is often the case with our special code of medical etiquette, the element of public advantage (which is to my mind paramount in the consideration of the rules of all codes) was not at first sight apparent. Thus it is a rule of legal etiquette that no lawyer should undertake a speculative suit, that is to say, one in which he has a personal and financial interest in its success, and in which his payment is to depend upon a favorable verdict.

The reason is because the advocate and solicitor has the duty of assisting and truthfully informing the judge as to the facts and issues to be decided, and of helping him to determine on which side justice should incline her balance. A financial interest in the decision might easily warp the judgment, inflame the passions, and affect the truthfulness of the statement, and thus afford temptations to the lawyer to betray the arbiter whom he is there to assist. An unfavorable decision would have a tendency, moreover, to interfere with the friendly relations which in the public interest should always exist between judge and advocate, and to weaken their mutual confidence. Hence, the public value of this apparently arbitrary rule. Again, it is contrary to etiquette for any lawyer to give either advice or criticism to the client of another lawyer upon any legal matter which that other lawyer has in hand for the client, without the knowledge and approval of and consultation with such lawyer. Similarly it is the duty and the practice of lawyers engaged on opposite sides of a case to maintain unbroken friendly relations with each other, so that it will often happen (sometimes to the disgust and annoyance of clients, as in the case of the celebrated Mr. Pickwick) that opposing counsel engaged in deadly conflict over the case in court, may be seen in the intervals of repose to go off arm-in-arm in friendly converse—all this

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is right because it is for the public interest that the lawyers in charge of litigation should at any moment, in virtue of their friendly and harmonious relations, be in a position to enter upon friendly consultation, to settle amicably whatever part or details of the quarrel can be so settled, to effect a compromise if advisable, and to cut short, wherever possible, tedious and costly litigation. For it is the duty and the boast of good lawyers who obey the honorable code and rules of their profession, to keep their clients out of litigation, just as it is the duty and the boast of medical men to keep their clients free from disease, and restore them as quickly as possible to the paths and domain of health.

Now with this accessory light, let us turn to the code of medical etiquette, and consider what have sometimes been held to be some of its most irksome and least evidently useful restrictions and limitations of conduct. Some of its leading principles are so self-evidently useful and beneficent that they call for no discussion. Physicians are not perfect creatures, of pure abstract morality, any more than other men; although they are, more than any other men, guided as a body, and influenced as individuals, by high traditions of immemorial weight, and although from the very outset of their professional life it is impressed upon them by their teachers that their profession is a mission and not a trade;—a mission involving repeated self-sacrifice and a steadfast regard for interests other than their own. In this they are greatly helped by the force of precedent; by the example of those around them and of the leaders whom they most respect; by a common agreement in sentiment, and by the frequent public repetition and avowal of this faith. But in these times their faith is often sorely tried. They are the witnesses of the material prosperity of whole tribes of pretenders, quacks, and impostors, who reap fortunes by practising on the credulity of mankind. They see—and in this country which I so much admire and honor I say with regret that more often than in any other they see—these men aided, abetted, and encouraged by the public press; while their own principles of professional reticence and self-effacement are frequently derided by journalists, who publicly scorn the rules of medical etiquette, and who favor all kinds of quackery and every species of quacks. Let us hope that such aid and encouragement are given because the quack is especially he who seeks extensive advertisement and is willing to pay for it on a lavish scale.

Here it will help us to define the meaning of the word "quack."

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We can hardly do so better than in the words of Dr. Johnson, who calls a quack: "A boasted pretender to arts which he does not understand: a vain boasting pretender to physic, one who proclaims his own medical abilities in public places: an artful tricking practitioner in physic." He does not limit himself to the distinction of those who have medical degrees and those who have not, nor do I wish to do so. It is the essential note of the quack that he is a person who seeks advertisement, and who aims at obtaining the money value of such advertisement. So long ago as in the earliest beginnings of medicine as an organized art and profession, self-effacement, the abstinence from self-advertisement, the spirit of forbearance, and the abhorrence of self-seeking were the very essence of all codes of medical etiquette. In the oath of Hippocrates, which is the progenitor of our code of to-day, the disciple swears to impart the knowledge of his art to others according to the laws of medicine, and to share with his colleagues by precept and every other mode of instruction all that he knows. He binds himself that he will have no medical secret, that he will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption, and that whatever in connection with his professional practice he sees or hears in the life of men which ought not to be spoken of abroad he will not divulge. "While I continue to keep this oath unviolated may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the art respected by all men and in all times. But should I violate and trespass this oath may the reverse be my lot."

Now let us apply the terms and principles of this oath which is still in force, to the practice of modern life and to the rules of medical conduct, laid down by our colleges and medical corporations. I will quote a few of them, selecting precisely those which some of the younger and as they would call themselves the bolder spirits (although not even the youngest are infallible) have sometimes proposed to abolish; those too which the modern journalist thinks it a mark of intellectual liberty and superior freedom of thought to try to break down and tempt others to violate. The most common form of violation of the laws of medical honor are two: first, the paltering with secret medicines; and second, the tendency to artful and concealed self-advertisement.

The most common and the most dangerous form of self-advertisement is that which is dangled before the eyes of a doctor by the newspaper editor and the interviewer. He is tempted to give his account of a new surgical operation which he has invented, of a new medicine

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which is in course of investigation, of a treatment recommended for some prevalent disease; to divulge the secrets of the sick-room, and to report without the authority or permission of his client on the incidents and course of the illness of a distinguished or a notorious patient. All this he often does to the scorn and contempt of his brethren, but to the satisfaction of a demoralized press, and to meet the requirements of a public possessed by a grovelling curiosity. It is contrary to the code of medical etiquette. It is what no professional man of honor should do, it is forbidden by our medical corporations. In the words of Sir Edward Clarke which I have quoted as applicable to the law, when a professional man does that which honor and duty forbid, it is and ought to be the duty of other men to have nothing to do with him. And it is this duty upon which I venture to insist as being at this juncture more than ever a public duty, a duty not merely in the interests of the whole community, which has the highest concern in seeing that the whole body medical and every individual of it shall be worthy of the confidence reposed in it. The physician should have earned his reputation, not by the arts of notoriety, not by bold or concealed advertisements whether of himself or his books, not by the purchased or favored prominence accorded to him by the uncritical, undiscriminating, or interested journalist; but by his colleagues of accepted and approved knowledge, and in virtue of his conscientious and modest application of that knowledge. It is for that reason and to save a man, as he often needs to be saved, from himself, and from the temptations with which he is assailed, that our code in Great Britain is in this respect so detailed, so strict and so easily capable of enforcement. I venture to submit that it would be an evil day for the public as for the profession when, if ever, those detailed regulations were abolished or held in light esteem.

Now as to the matter of paltering with secret remedies. Our medical rules, as interpreted by the ruling bodies of medicine, and expanded in the Code of Medical Ethics, adopted by the medico-ethical branch of the British Medical Association, and stated with a commentary by Dr. Styrap in his excellent book,[1] are full, precise and inexorable. That a man should possess and trade in a secret remedy is a source of public danger as well as an offence against professional morality. He has a right to expect, and he is bound to give to his fellow practitioner, every possible aid and assistance in the treatment

[1] A Code of Medical Ethics, by J. De Styrap, N.K.Q.T.C., London, Churchill.

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of disease and in the healing of the sick. He has received such knowledge and aid from his predecessors, he daily and continually receives it from his colleagues and contemporaries, to whose knowledge and experience, and to whose investigations openly stated and submitted to critical discussion, he owes the great bulk of his knowledge and the means of qualifying himself for the art which he practises. A new method of treatment, a new drug, or a new dogma in medicine, is like a doctrine or a dogma or a deduction in theology. It is or may be a means of physical salvation as the other is or may be a means of spiritual salvation. The man who keeps such as a profitable secret, whether physician or minister, is a traitor to his profession and to humanity, and is false to his mission. There are many ways of paltering with this principle, and therefore the rule needs to be laid down comprehensively and with exactness as well as enforced with severity. He who prescribes a secret remedy covers and condones an act of treachery and an infraction of duty. He is an accomplice in the guilt and he cannot go scot free. He who derives an open or a concealed profit from such secret remedies is an accomplice in the offence. He who by written or verbal statement supports, maintains or extends such products, he who becomes a partner in a company or a firm which deals in them, is obviously false to his mission, untrue to his sacred obligations as a physician, a shame to himself and a dishonor to his profession. It is fitting that the code should provide for such cases and that it should not remain a dead letter.

It is sometimes suggested that the value of a secret remedy may be, and sometimes is, so great that, admitting the infraction of duty involved and notwithstanding it, it might be and sometimes is the duty of a practitioner to condone the offence, and to give mankind whatever benefit may be derived from the guilty act, by prescribing a secret remedy. Granted that it is a theft from the common treasury of knowledge, which is the common possession of mankind, according to the code of medical ethics, it is urged that it might be well to wink at the immorality and to use its products for the general good. It is not a very high-minded doctrine, and it is palpably unnecessary to discuss it from that point of view which must always be our security. It is moreover one which finds not one iota of evidence in its support from past history or present fact. The past history of mankind may be vainly searched and ransacked to the bottom of the sack without our discovering one single item of even the slightest value in

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the voluminous list of secret remedies. Take even the most celebrated, such as the famous remedy for dissolving stone in the bladder, for divulging which men of renown signed a petition to have the British Houses of Parliament order a grant of five thousand pounds. It consisted, we read, of "calcined egg-shells and snails, or lime obtained by a filthy process." The famous Dr. Hartley, one of its main advocates, died of stone in the bladder after taking 200 lbs. of the remedy. Nor is there any example in history of any secret remedy of real therapeutical value. In our own time there is no such thing as a really secret remedy. We know the composition of all of them, they are secret only to the gullible public. Annihilators of pain, purifiers of the blood, vital essences, botanical nostrums, hepatic stimulants, liver cures, gold cures, invigorators, nostrums for old age, drink antidotes, elixirs, extracts, sleep-persuaders, electric belts, amulets, and chains, they are all of easily ascertained composition and construction, and when examined there is rarely anything singular, novel or surprising about them except the wide pretension, the unlimited assumption, the unblushing persistence and the corrupting expenditure with which they are foisted upon the public attention and forced upon public patronage. They are commonplace in composition, or if they have anything not trite and well-worn in use, it is some trifle chosen on the basis of strangeness and as a rickety handle on which to hang advertisement. In this respect at least the world has up to this date lost nothing by the stern and scornful disapproval with which the medical profession regard these nostrums, and by the punishment with which they visit, and always ought to visit, those who sell the honor of their calling and the free communication of medical knowledge which is the birthright of mankind, for a mess of commercial pottage.

Space will permit the discussion of only one or two more of the rules of the medical code, and I will again select those which are most often disputed by the laity, such as the rule which forbids to medical practitioners of regular standing, consultations with homœopaths. This, it is sometimes said, is intolerant and unjust to the public. Let us examine the facts. We do not believe and we cannot appreciate the medical capacity or fitness to undertake the treatment of disease of those who hold that drugs which given internally will produce certain symptoms of disease are the appropriate remedies for those maladies—for example, medicines which produce skin-reddening for erysipelas, leucorrhine for leucorrhœa, syphiline for syphilis;—that all chronic maladies arise from syphilis, sycosis or itch; and that

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medicines act with an intensity proportionate to the infinite diminution of the dose, or that there is any utility in prescribing, in accordance with these principles, a decillionth of a grain of medicine, a dose so small that it has been calculated that if all the beings on the globe were to take it once a minute they would not finish the grain in thousands of years; or again that the activity of medicines increases in the ratio of the number of shakes given to the bottle containing them. We have nothing in common with this class of therapeutists and believe that their methods are absolutely delusive, and mischievously replace the rational practices of medicine. We hold that it would be, therefore, useless, deceptive and contrary to public interest that we should pretend to consult with them, or to give any countenance or cover to what they please to term their system of treatment.

But then, it is said, What if the regular practitioner is called in only to assist in diagnosing the nature, the stage, the complications, or the nomenclature of the disease? Is he not bound to give the patient the benefit of that information and to assist in throwing that light upon the nature of the illness? The answer is, the physician is a healer, not a reader of riddles or a mere solver of conundrums. It is not his function to give a name to symptoms or pathological conditions, but to heal the patient; and if he knows that his solution of the riddle is not to be followed by anything which he can consider a method of attaining that result he would be infamously wrong, and he is always wrong, to give the cover of his accepted position, of his recognized ability and of his professional sanction to what becomes under such circumstances a dangerous and deceptive farce, a comedy which may and too often does degenerate into tragedy. Such a meeting it is a misapplication of words to dignify as a consultation. The riddle is read, but the patient is none the better and may be often much the worse for the false confidence thus inspired and for the way in which the dangerous delusion is thus covered with the mantle of respectability.

Finally, I will say a word as to what is known as the etiquette of consultation. The patient, it is said, and is said truly, has the right to determine whom he shall consult and to change or to discard his medical adviser; but, like other rights, this is limited by the legitimate claims of others, and, *a priori*, a medical practitioner is justly entitled to expect that he shall not without cause and without reasonable courtesy and explanation be superseded in attendance on a case. In such an event, moreover, the superseded practitioner is morally and

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ethically bound to take due care that the same courteous respect which he individually would expect, be paid to his discarded colleague, alike by himself and by those who have professionally consulted him. Again, no professional man is at liberty to discuss or criticise the conduct of a case by one of his colleagues upon the mere statement of a patient, who is often inaccurately informed, or upon an independent judgment of the case without previously ascertaining in consultation whatever precedent conditions or modifying considerations may have led to the diagnosis or treatment in question. These are rules framed alike in the interest of physician and client. The confidence of the patient in his doctor is an element important for both the cure and the comfort of the patient. Justice to him and to his doctor requires that it should not be lightly or unjustly shaken.

Our College of Physicians explicitly directs that the physician called into consultation by a brother practitioner shall not express directly to the patient the individual views and conclusions at which he arrives, but that whatever he has to say shall be said after consultation with the practitioner and through his mouth, and that he shall behave with the utmost courtesy and forbearance to such practitioner, to whom shall be left all explanations and statements of the conclusions resulting from the consultation. Were it otherwise the public client would be the first to suffer, for anything which creates ill-will or unnecessary friction between consultant and attendant tends to limit the range and frequency of consultations. So is it forbidden to the consultant, when called in, subsequently to assume the sole charge of that patient, however he may be entreated to do so, or under whatever inducement. Were it otherwise, the attending or family practitioner could not call in a consultant without the fear being always before his eyes of losing the charge of his patient. Thus there would be a temptation as far as possible to limit and restrict consultations, and an impediment in the way of ascertaining the best means of cure.

The maintenance of the high standard of professional honor, the acceptance, adoption, and enforcement of a detailed code of professional etiquette, the agreement by all and the observance by every individual of the whole range of limitations and restrictions which are set up by that code, and the logical deductions from it, are, I contend, demonstrably as valuable for the public welfare as for any professional interests concerned.

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PUBLIC BUSINESS AND THE RIGHT TO STEAL.

It seems paradoxical to say that the individuals composing a nation may in the main be honest, while the nation in its public capacity may be dishonest. But the paradox vanishes when we remember that in its public capacity a nation is represented by its rulers and that these may be dishonest while their constituents are honest. In the struggle for political preferment many factors enter into play, and not the least of them is the political apathy of the electors occupied with their private affairs, who drift more or less carelessly with the current forced into devious channels by the energy of dishonest demagogues.

We are the fortunate possessors of a land of inexhaustible resources, able to maintain in prosperity a rapidly increasing population, and should, therefore, enjoy continuous progress and prosperity with only occasional reactions when the development may have become over-rapid. Why, therefore, are we subjected to panics so frequently recurring with growing intensity, so that we seem to be beset by adversity, rather than in the enjoyment of that prosperity which in view of natural conditions ought to be our portion?

To me the reason seems clear. Notwithstanding the well-established fact that in our private capacity we are an essentially honest people, and indeed for private honesty stand unexcelled among all peoples, the same cannot be said of us in our public capacity; and this deficiency in public honesty begets want of confidence, and want of confidence is the cause of all commercial panics.

I recall the shock to the people of London last year when agitators at meetings of the unemployed advocated the right to steal. To us, too, as individuals, such advocacy broadly stated seems monstrous. But as a nation are we not becoming accustomed to regard it differently? Do we not submit without a murmur when Congress or State Legislatures attempt to exercise their powers of confiscation, particularly if this is done on the pretence of some philanthropic purpose of benefiting the poor? Are we not growing impervious to that moral sense, which is superior not only to legislative enactments and judicial

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procedure, but which ought to be its fountain-head? Even now our Senate, the supreme essence of our national life, is engaged with the utmost seriousness on the question whether debts contracted may not righteously be paid on the basis of fifty cents on the dollar, a discussion which practically amounts to a debate on the point whether our coins should be clipped to that extent. No individual would dare to advocate such a course in his private relations, and were he to do so there is no doubt but that he would be characterized as a plain swindler; but do we consider such a measure in the wholesale with the same abhorrence? Evidently not; otherwise the very discussion would be impossible. It looks as if to our eyes as a nation advocacy of the right to steal, which shocked all England when proclaimed by anarchists at a meeting of the unemployed on Tower Hill, becomes respectable and even meritorious, if only made with due deliberation, so that if that advocacy should prevail the right may be proclaimed in due form by a majority vote on Capitol Hill.

Not long ago the farmers of Kansas and other Western States were clamoring for money with which to develop their farms, and as the security they offered seemed fair and the interest they promised alluring, people all over the world parted with their own, and trusted it to those farmers. Any individual farmer who wilfully and purposely attempted to defraud the owners of these funds, confided to the borrower for his advantage, was considered a cheat; but this did not prevent agitators from obtaining numerous support by farmers for the purpose of perpetrating a general fraud upon all mortgagees of farm lands of those States, by legislative means. And these attempts to defraud those who innocently trusted their money to the mortgagors was hailed with delight by large bodies of our people all over the country as a sign of a golden era coming.

A railroad is required for the purpose of developing a barren tract and enabling homes to be founded on the site of useless forests. The most glowing promises are made to attract capital to the building of that railroad. After it has been finished, the forest has been cleared, value has been imparted to the desert, then the State is called upon to defraud those who have taken great risks in bringing this development about on the strength of the alluring promises that were made. The right of eminent domain which were of necessity accorded by the State, is then invoked as a reason for depriving the builders of the just fruits of their undertaking—as if it were possible to build a railroad without eminent domain any more than without

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rails! To this species of confiscation we have become so accustomed that it is regarded as an ordinary risk of railway enterprises (thus correspondingly increasing the cost of these enterprises), as tribute to bands of natives, organized for the purpose of exacting tribute, was reckoned among the ordinary travelling expenses in Greece some years ago.

All our public affairs having become permeated with the poison of dishonesty, it necessarily has affected our quasi-public relations as well. Indeed our great public corporations, such as railroads, are in themselves species of communities, of which the security-holders are the citizens; and in these communities the right to steal under certain legal forms and sanctions has, in certain directions, become fully recognized.

Whatever frauds are perpetrated under advice of counsel or by resolutions duly passed by a majority vote at a regularly constituted meeting, security-holders have long since come to regard as unobjectionable, or at least as beyond the reach of successful attack. Here, too, the line between private honesty and public honesty is sharply drawn. Many a director who would exercise the most scrupulous care if any of his constituents had appointed him trustee in a private matter has not the slightest hesitation to vote in his own private interests for acts that from a moral point of view are nothing less than sheer robbery of those who have confided to him the management of their corporate affairs.

Indeed, quite frequently, as soon as a Board of Directors is elected, it considers itself the absolute owners of the property, to manage or to mismanage, as its private interests may dictate. These private interests sometimes are in such direct conflict with the interests of the corporation as to involve it in bankruptcy. Whenever this happens the courts are appealed to in order to continue in irresponsible power the very men who have maladministered their trust. And the courts generally entertain favorably such an appeal, as they have gradually succumbed to a growing custom not to enter into any inquiry in such cases as to the causes bringing about the bankruptcy. In fact, the courts are in such cases considered as little more than instruments for registering the wishes of those whose dishonesty is responsible for the ruin of the corporation.

But the right to steal once recognized, no matter how cloaked, whether it be in the form of laws for the free coinage of silver, thus robbing creditors in general of a large part of what is their due, or in

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anti-railroad legislation, robbing a certain specified class of creditors, or the condonation of robbery of corporations under various guises by their trustees, is inconsistent with general prosperity, as general prosperity is based on general confidence and general confidence again reposes not merely on private but upon national and corporate honesty. If confidence is undermined, our very economic existence is necessarily undermined, and panic must follow closely on panic. If domestic capital seeks to withdraw itself from all public enterprises and money is hoarded in our own country, how much the more will not foreign capital be discouraged from coming here, and be taken back at every opportunity. More and more are foreign nations coming to the conclusion that while we are a magnificent people, we have incomprehensible laws and customs which render it altogether unsafe to meddle with us in a financial way. We are gradually obtaining the reputation of Bedouin Arabs, who are recognized to possess many admirable qualities; but, when travelling their way, it is best to leave valuables at home.

This does not in any way mean that all intercourse between foreign countries and our own country could ever cease. As long at least as Europe needs our breadstuffs and our cotton and other articles of export, European commerce must seek us and we shall derive benefit from it. Moreover, Europeans freely admit that, considered as private individuals, no people are more honest or more honorable. Private loans will, therefore, continue to be made. But it may be laid down as a broad proposition that unless we introduce radical changes in our views of public right and wrong, unless we give absolute assurance that the advocacy of the right to steal, under no matter what legal forms or sanctions, has become utterly abhorrent, the foreign capital which has built up so many sections of our country and which was for years the main source of the development of barren regions and added so materially to our greatness and is still essential to the regaining and maintaining of our prosperity, will no longer serve us.

But after all, we are a young nation, and so have not yet passed through the ordeals by which the financial affairs of the best nations of Europe have been purified. For centuries the kings and nobles of those countries were engaged in clipping coin and despoiling creditors (just as many of our Senators would now have us do), thinking these acts highly advantageous to the State, until by endless sufferings and bloody revolutions, a higher public-thinking morality

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was evolved whereby clipping of coins and despoiling of creditors have become an impossibility. As a consequence of this higher public morality, a sense of trust in administering quasi-public affairs is so potent and ever-present in the public mind that the acts and conditions partaking of the Middle Ages and barbarous tribes, to which the affairs of our great corporations are still subjected, cannot be practised there with impunity.

We cannot even imagine, with any sense of reality, the depredation to which one of our great properties has recently been subjected, as applied for instance to any great English railway. No chairman of the Board of Directors of a great English railway can be even supposed to enter into private speculations in brokers' offices for his private gain, withdrawing securities from the treasury of his company for use as margins for his speculations, with the perfect assurance that if these speculations turn out a loss, his Board will not only at once assume them, but will at the same time give him *carte blanche* to continue them at his pleasure. Nor can we imagine, with any sense of reality, that after all this, when the company by these and similar acts is forced into bankruptcy, such a chairman could appear before the High Court of Justice, practically in secret, and there obtain, as a matter of course, an order to confide in his irresponsible control, for as long a time as he may choose, the very company he had wrecked. Nor can it be believed that as a special mark of approval the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals would resign his seat in that august tribunal in order to become the colleague of that chairman. It is just as incredible that, as an additional colleague, the court would appoint the chairman of the Board of a competing company, known to be largely interested in the securities of that competing company, so as to put him in a position where he could use his potent influence to draw from the treasury of the bankrupt company amounts sufficient to pay dividends on the securities of the competing company in which he is interested, on a plea involving the violation of sacred pledges of mortgages.

Such a condition of affairs is not even imaginable in England, and yet it gives but a faint description of a few of the acts by which the great Philadelphia & Reading Railroad has lately been brought down and is kept low. How different would that history have been in England! If the chairman of one of the great railways of that country had actually accomplished the unimaginable and had speculated with the funds of his company, withdrawn secretly from its

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treasury, it would not have been he who would have received the protection of the court, but the despoiled and outraged proprietors who had confided to him so great a trust, on the proper execution of which the weal and woe of thousands depend. There, no custom has grown up inclining courts of equity to spread out their protecting wings to embrace such a man within their sheltering folds; but the prosecuting officer of the Crown and the Grand Jury would at once have entered into a rigid investigation. If this investigation should have uncovered fraud of any kind, restitution would have been demanded, and stern retribution would have been meted out. The affairs of the company would have been placed in safe hands, not mixed up with past wrong-doing, and the security-holders would have obtained loyal and devoted service in their own behalf in order to extricate the company from its difficulties and, if possible, to bring it back into the paths of prosperity.

Not that I would claim for a moment that individuals never go wrong in England. On the contrary, as I have before said, I believe that in so far as private honesty is concerned, we are the peers of any nation on the globe. In England as well as with us persons in almost all walks of life yield to temptation and the public prosecutor is busy there as well as here; but the essential difference lies in the fact that a President of a corporation acting as above described is considered by us as a "Napoleon of Finance" and draws around him an adulating host of admirers, particularly if out of the ruins of his company he has managed to secure a fortune for himself. In England, if he could exist at all, he would not be considered a Napoleon. Nor would it be held a mark of genius, to buy shares at higher prices than anybody else would pay for them with margins taken from trust funds in such a manner that if there is a gain the person who commits the wrong makes it, and if there is a loss it is suffered by the trust fund. There, no halo of glory would save such so-called Napoleonic acts from the proper vindication of outraged justice.

And it is because of these differences in public morality and not because London is the residence of "gold-bugs," that money flows to London from all over the world, and that it can be had there at three per cent per annum, when our people will not part with it at twenty, and sometimes not at all, but hoard it as savage tribes do, for fear that they would never see it back if once put into the channels of trade, where it may become subject to some quasi-public administration.

London is the financial centre of the world not only because of its

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location but because it is known that there honesty pervades public financial affairs; that public obligations are sure to be met; that mortgages are safe from violation; and that the internal affairs of public corporations are expected to be administered for the benefit of shareholders and creditors. Cheap money depends upon confidence, as confidence alone keeps money in circulation and makes it abundant.

I cannot but believe that our people will profit by the bitter lessons of other nations recorded in the pages of history, particularly as those lessons are now being brought home to us by bitter practical experiences of our own. I cannot believe that it will be necessary for us to go through all the gamut of suffering through which other nations have been forced to go before reaching that moral plane on which their public affairs now rest. Our practical sense must soon show us that public honesty is, to say the least, the best public policy; and if that proposition once becomes fixed there will soon be evolved from it that higher morality which respects the sacredness of obligations and inviolability of promises, independently of any question of policy.

Even now there are signs of a coming moral revolution, of which the decided vote on the silver question in the House of Representatives seems to be the precursor. The era of clipping coin, of robbing enterprises, of friendly receiverships seems to have reached its apogee; and it will now require but little more of public indignation to put a complete quietus on any attempts to advocate the right to steal in any form. When that is done, and accepted as settled by the civilized world, continual progress in development, to which our inexhaustible resources entitle us, may be expected to set in, checked only by such natural reactions as every healthy condition requires. And thus these incessantly recurring panics will disappear like cholera from a well-sanitated district.

ISAAC L. RICE.

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THE WONDERFUL NEW STAR OF 1892.

THE object of this paper is to detail the history of the remarkable "new star" of 1892, in the constellation *Auriga*. This star, which doubtless resembles our sun, within two days increased in brilliancy sixteenfold. Three months after its discovery, it had become invisible. After another four months, it reappeared, and was comparatively bright. But it was no longer a star, but a nebula! In other words, it had developed changes of light and heat which, if repeated in the case of our own sun, would mean a quick end of the human race and the utter annihilation of every vestige of animal and other life upon this earth.

Before defining what is meant by the not very exact term "new star," it is well to say precisely what is meant by the word "star." A star is a heavenly body visible in some telescope and demonstrably or presumably similar to our sun in its general nature. Its spectrum will consist (ordinarily) of a continuous band of light having all the colors from red to violet, and crossed by certain dark absorption lines which occupy fixed positions and which have constant intensities. The bright continuous spectrum is produced by the light from the nucleus of the star, which may be either solid, liquid or composed of gas under great pressure; but in any event it is intensely heated. The dark lines are due to the loss of certain definite kinds of light (as red, green, *etc.*), given out by the nucleus and absorbed by the gaseous envelope or atmosphere of the star itself. This envelope is also intensely heated, but it is cooler than the nucleus. The constitution of the atmosphere can be inferred when we know the wave-lengths of the light which it absorbs. A few highly-interesting and exceptional stars have a spectrum of bright lines (probably due to very extensive and highly-heated atmospheres) projected upon their continuous spectra. "Nebulæ" are gaseous masses, and their spectra consist of bright lines. Until lately, only about a dozen lines were known to exist in the spectra of nebulæ, but the observations of Professor Campbell at the Lick Observatory in the last year have raised this number to about thirty; and this remark is of special im-

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portance here, because nearly all the characteristic lines of the nebulæ are also characteristic of the new star.

The lines in the spectrum of a star (as our sun, for example) correspond to the vapors of metals, *etc.*, in the atmosphere of the star itself. If any metal is present in a gaseous condition in the atmosphere, its characteristic lines will be found in the spectrum. A qualitative analysis of the star's atmosphere can be made, then, by an examination of the star's light and by a comparison of its spectrum with the spectra of known metals in the laboratory. After it has been determined that a particular star contains hydrogen, for example, it is possible to determine the rate of motion of the star itself towards or from the earth by measures of the position of the hydrogen lines. If the star is moving away from the earth, all the characteristic lines of hydrogen will be shifted slightly towards the red end of the spectrum. If it is moving towards the earth, the lines will be shifted towards the blue. The amount of the shift measures the velocity of the motion of the star. Spectroscopic observations of a star furnish us then with two kinds of information: first, they indicate the chemical constitution of the star's atmosphere; and second, they determine the motion of the star itself. We should not allow our familiarity with such facts as these to make us forget what veritable triumphs of science they are.

Let us consider the motion of stars a little more closely. Most stars are moving in straight lines, or in orbits so great that we cannot detect the curvature. But if a star is moving in a closed orbit of small dimensions, it is clear that it must at times approach the earth and at other times recede from it. Its spectral lines will then be shifted alternately towards the blue (approach) or towards the red (recession). The size of the orbit is given by the amount of shift. One point more requires to be considered. If the star is ejecting brilliant flames of a gas (as hydrogen, in the case of our sun), the spectral lines of hydrogen will show by their shifting not the motion of the main body of the star itself, but the motion of the hydrogen. We must be able to interpret the lines of the spectrum seen in our instruments and to refer them to the right sources.

If, for example, two bright stars formed a system and revolved one about the other, they might be so close together that their spectra would be superposed in the spectroscope. Their lines would however shift to and fro as the component stars moved. An observer could interpret such a spectrum, and could assign the proper set of

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lines to each of the component stars and calculate all the circumstances of their motion. Now let us suppose that each of the two component stars is ejecting brilliant flames of hydrogen and other gases. We shall have a more complex spectrum to interpret. There will be four overlapping spectra: first, the spectrum of the star A; second, that of the star B; third, the spectrum of the hydrogen flames of A; fourth, that of the hydrogen flames of B. These overlapping spectra will produce a very complex spectrum. If there are more than two stars in the system, the resulting spectrum will be yet more complex, but with patience and enough observations, the snarl can be unravelled. Now the spectrum of the new star of 1892 presented a case of precisely this sort, as we shall see; and the foregoing analysis is necessary in order that we may be able to interpret and understand it.

Let us return for a moment to the consideration of "new" stars, now that we have defined what a "star" is. Astronomers have catalogued and mapped the fixed stars so that the accurate places of about five hundred thousand are known in the northern hemisphere alone. Most of these shine with a constant light. A few of them vary periodically in brilliancy; they are sometimes brighter, sometimes fainter. These are the variable stars, so called. At intervals, stars appear in the sky which are called "new" in that they suddenly acquire a considerable brilliancy, which quickly attains a maximum and which soon falls off in an irregular and not a periodic way. Such, for example, was the new star of 1572, which was observed by Tycho Brahe to increase in a few days nearly to the brilliancy of Venus, so as to be visible in the daytime, and which subsequently completely disappeared. There is no luminous object in its place. No doubt some object is there, but it is invisible in our greatest telescopes. The vital spark of the star has gone—its heat, its light—just as it came.

In later times, several "new" stars have appeared. Only three of them have been studied with the spectroscope, which was not invented till 1860. The new star in the constellation *Auriga* was first noticed by Dr. Anderson, an amateur astronomer of Edinburgh, on January 24, 1892. It was then of the fifth magnitude, easily visible to the naked eye. It was "new" because no star of this brightness had previously existed in this place. On the night of December 8, 1891, Dr. Max Wolf, of Heidelberg, had photographed the region in question, and his photograph agreed with the earlier maps in

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showing no star so bright as the ninth magnitude in this place. Professor Pickering's photographs at Harvard College Observatory showed a star of the sixth magnitude in this place on December 10. Hence *Nova* must have increased in brightness *at least* three magnitudes in two days. In two days its brilliancy increased sixteen-fold, at the very least.

The history of the fluctuations in the star's brightness is soonest told by a diagram exhibiting the observations of Professors Schaeberle and Campbell of the Lick Observatory. In the annexed plate the dates are given at the left hand of the page; the magnitudes at the top. A star of the sixth magnitude is just visible to the naked eye; one of the tenth is just easily visible in a telescope of two inches aperture; one of the seventeenth is the *minimum visibile* of the 36-inch refractor of the Lick Observatory. The dotted line on the plate shows the changes of brightness to the eye. It is plain that many fluctuations of light occurred while the general decrease was taking place. The full line represents the curve of photographic magnitude derived from entirely independent photographic observations by Professor Schaeberle. On March 26 the star became too faint to photograph. On April 27 it had become invisible in the great telescope. It was then one hundred and sixty thousand times fainter than it was at the time of discovery!

Between April and August the *Nova* was too near the sun to be seen, but on August 17 it was looked for and was found to be a comparatively bright object once more. And it was no longer a star, but a nebula! Its spectrum had changed from the characteristic star-spectrum to that of a nebula. It presented a spectrum of twenty-one bright lines (only) and twenty of these are identical in position and character with lines in the nebulæ. I ought to mention that two great European authorities, Dr. Huggins and Professor Vogel, have doubted this change; but they were arguing from observations made with small telescopes under disadvantages, and neither of them had seen the complete observations made by Professor Campbell, which are just ready for printing. Nothing can be clearer than the identity of the 1893 spectrum of *Nova* and that of the nebulæ.

The foregoing very incomplete account of extended observations by many astronomers, specially those of Dr. Huggins in London, Professor Vogel at Potsdam, Professor Pickering at Cambridge, Dr. Belopolsky at St. Petersburg, Professor Sidgreaves, Dr. von Gothard in Hungary and Professor Campbell at Mount Hamilton, puts one in

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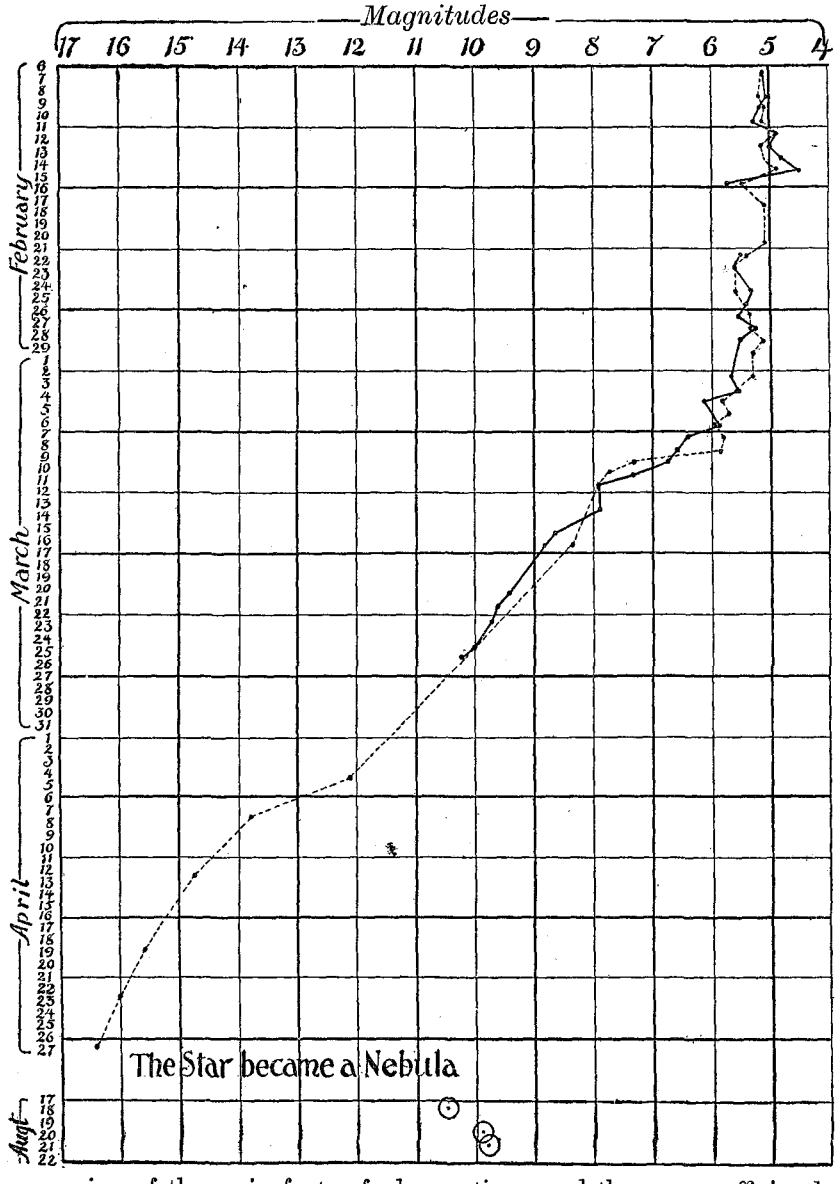
MAGNITUDES OF NOVA AURIGAE.

FEBRUARY—AUGUST, 1892.

PHOTOGRAPHIC——VISUAL.....



possession of the main facts of observation; and they are sufficiently amazing. In a place in the sky where no known star existed on

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December 8, 1891, a new star suddenly appeared; and in two days it had grown at least sixteen times brighter. No doubt some object existed in this place formerly. It must have been comparatively insignificant in brilliancy. Some cause—either a gaseous outburst from the interior or perhaps a collision—suddenly altered its whole nature. From an ordinary "star," probably similar to our sun, it increased in brightness suddenly, and slowly fell to $\frac{1}{160,000}$ part of its original brilliancy. Its substance was used up, as it were, in the sudden outburst, and in a few months more it had degraded to a mass of gas—a true nebula. It is still in this condition. It is presumable that this nebula may have a future history like that of the nebula from which our own solar-system was formed. It may, in its turn, condense to form a central sun with attendant planets.

Such phenomena as this star has presented are of the extremest value to astronomers and physicists. By the study of exceptional cases, old laws are tried and new ones discovered. Apparent exceptions "prove" (*i.e.*, test) the rule. Such cases are also of the greatest popular interest since they throw a light on the past and on the future of the solar system. The *Nova* was, no doubt, a star like our sun. It was, no doubt, very distant from the earth, since its original lustre made it at least as faint as the ninth magnitude. The catastrophe which we say occurred in December, 1891, was announced to us by light which reached us then. But this light must have left the star twenty, perhaps fifty, years earlier. This recent event is, in fact, ancient history. Let us imagine what fate ours would be, if our sun should suddenly increase in light and heat some hundreds of times and then fall off some thousands. Every vestige of life on our earth would be extinguished; and the only sign of it to the universe at large would be that a small star —our sun—had gone through a remarkable cycle of changes.

Leaving such considerations on one side, and omitting consideration of special physical problems involved (such as the law of cooling of celestial masses), let us inquire a little more closely into the mechanical causes which may have produced the catastrophe which gave us the new star. Explanations have been offered by various physicists, but the most complete treatment of the subject we owe to Professor Vogel, Dr. Huggins and Professor Seeliger. In what follows I have made free use of the admirable memoir of the first-named astronomer. A consideration of all the observations, and specially of the earlier ones, makes it plain that the phenomena cannot be ex-

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plained by the hypothesis that a single body was affected. The new star must have consisted of two bodies, at least. The complex spectrum shows this clearly. Huggins explains the phenomena by supposing the system of *Nova* to consist of two bodies with gaseous envelopes moving in parabolic or hyperbolic orbits. The relative motion of these two bodies might be very great when one was approaching, the other receding from, the earth. Their great absolute velocities were probably inherent in the two objects when they accidentally, so to say, came near to each other. They probably did not touch each other, not even in a grazing collision; but they came so near to each other that

"enormous tidal disturbances would be set up, amounting, it may be, to partial deformation in the case of a gaseous body, and producing sufficiently great changes of pressure in the interior of the bodies to give rise to enormous eruptions of the hotter matter within, immensely greater but similar in kind to solar eruptions."

Such an hypothesis will account for very many of the observed phenomena in the spectrum, but there is at least one left outstanding. The most glaring objection is found, however, in Dr. Huggins's fundamental assumption of the meeting of two bodies by chance, as it were, each endowed with an enormous velocity quite out of the range of ordinary stellar motions.

An hypothesis put forward by Professor Seeliger is more satisfactory in several respects; and it has the advantage that many of its details are worked out mathematically and that they can, therefore, be brought to a sharp test. Photographs have shown that there are many regions of the sky which are filled with cosmical clouds, either gaseous or composed of matter in a finely-divided state—like swarms of meteors, for example. Many of these masses are of immense extent. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that an ordinary star, moving through space, should enter one of these masses. The moment such an event occurs there will be a heating of the surface of the body, and gaseous products will be formed as an envelope about its exterior. Some of these products will be thrown off and will soon take the same velocity as the neighboring portions of the cosmic cloud. Such an occurrence would produce spectra very similar to the complex appearance presented by the *Nova*. The moving star will be affected by the meeting, and the cosmic cloud itself will be profoundly altered in its interior constitution. Each small particle near the star will at once commence to move in an orbit (an hyperbola) about the star as a focus. The nearest particles will move with

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great velocity, and the velocities will fall off rapidly as the distance increases. The impact of the star and the mutual collisions of the particles will volatilize many of the individual masses, and we shall have a resulting spectrum in many respects singularly like that actually observed in the *Nova*. So long as the star remains within the cloud, similar phenomena will occur. This is an important point. Bodily tides would soon fall off, after producing tremendous effects. The entrance of a star into an extensive cosmic cloud might produce results lasting many months, since the forces are perpetually renewed. A mathematical computation shows that such a cosmic cloud need not be very dense to produce all the observed effects.

The remarkable investigation of Professor Seeliger throws a new light on the problem and lays a foundation for future conclusions of the sort. It accounts for very many of the observed facts. Stars in general move with comparatively small velocities (from ten to twenty miles a second), but the *Nova* certainly had a great absolute velocity in its early stages. Professor Vogel brings forward a number of objections to the foregoing theory which cannot be discussed here, since they relate to the *minutiæ* of observation. They are, no doubt, sufficient to show that Professor Seeliger's hypothesis needs modification in the way chosen by Professor Vogel himself.

There are well-known examples in the stellar system of bodies of great mass which are now dark and which were, no doubt, formerly brilliant. It is probable, from what we know of the evolution of our own sun, that at some very distant day it also will become cold and thus dark. This change will not affect its mass; and its planets, cold and dark also, will continue to circulate about it. Professor Vogel supposes a star, itself perhaps surrounded by planets of its own, to enter such a system, just as in Seeliger's hypothesis it is supposed to enter a cosmical cloud. Enormous effects would be at once felt in all the bodies of the new—compound—system. It is by no means unlikely that actual collisions might occur between the star and its attendants and the members of the system into which they enter. All the conditions necessary to produce the observed phenomena are fulfilled, and no improbable supposition has been made. Stars do actually move through space in straight lines. Dark suns of great mass do actually exist. There is every probability that they are surrounded by a system of planets, *etc.* Such a star entering such a system would actually produce the phenomena which have been observed.

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It is impossible to pronounce definitely that Professor Vogel's hypothesis is true. It accounts for the observed facts, and no other supposition yet brought forward will do so. It derives additional strength from a most important series of facts observed at Mount Hamilton, which is now to be mentioned. Professor Campbell has been able to determine the motion of *Nova* towards or from the earth during the whole period of its apparition by a long-continued and admirable series of spectroscopic measures which are still in progress. This has not been possible elsewhere, because no other observatory has sufficiently powerful optical means. His observations, summarized, show that *Nova* was approaching the earth on August 21, 1892, at the rate of one hundred and twenty miles a second; September 7, one hundred and eighty miles; September 22, one hundred and seventy miles; October 16, one hundred and twenty miles; November 15, ninety miles; February 17, 1893, forty miles; March 26, seventy miles; and that since that time it has continued to approach us at the rate of about seventy miles a second. These figures seem to show (although it is yet too soon to derive a final conclusion from them) very much the variations which we should expect if the hypothesis of Professor Vogel were true; if *Nova* had entered a planetary system, had been there entangled for a while (from December, 1891, to about February, 1893) and had then escaped from the system and were now moving away from it. Future determinations will fix the future motions of *Nova*. There is every reason to believe that it will remain bright enough to be observed with our great telescope for a long time to come. We can at least say that up to the present time the new star has behaved as if it had entered a system of distant planets, rather than a swarm of cosmical meteorites.

My object in writing this note has been to point out one of the recent results of modern spectroscopy. The results only can be given. The details of the proofs—the interpretation of delicate spectroscopic observations—are technical. The observations upon which these results depend have been made all over the world, but it should be a source of pride to Americans that the splendid telescope of Mr. Lick's Observatory has enabled us to make our work far more complete than any other. Certain portions of the data rest solely upon the Mount Hamilton observations. It is worth noting that the admirable observations of Professor Vogel with the Potsdam telescope of only twelve inches aperture would not have been possible except for the employment of the photographic plate instead of the eye. The Mount

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Hamilton observations were made mostly by photography also, by using a very simple apparatus, devised by Professor Campbell the day before the telegram arrived which announced the discovery of *Nova*.

The results derived and yet to be derived from the observations of this new star will be of the highest scientific import. Together with researches made here upon the spectra of the nebulæ and of the bright-line stars, they have already raised many new scientific questions; and we think have already settled some of them. The results are of intense popular interest also, as we have seen. Our sun is a star. In studying the birth, death and resurrection of other stars we may be studying the past and future of our own sun, and hence be learning somewhat of the possible catastrophes which may overtake the earth.

Such catastrophes as produced the new star are indeed very rare. I do not know that their study is especially comforting to the human race. A new celestial body is born of them, which by its evolution may produce a solar system like our own. But it was produced at the sacrifice of a previous system, intrinsically as precious, so one might say. In the absence of definite knowledge, we have a right to assume that one universe is as good as another. In this case one system was totally destroyed; and on its ruins another may arise.

EDWARD S. HOLDEN.

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CHEAPER LIVING AND THE RISE OF WAGES.

ALL offices devoted to the investigation of social and industrial questions very properly make much of the statistics of wages, and nearly all such offices in this country recognize especially the distinctions between the social and the economic features of wage statistics. The political economist classifies wages as nominal wages and real wages, meaning by "nominal wages" the money actually received for so much labor performed, and by "real wages" the actual power which the nominal wages have in furnishing the necessaries and comforts of life; or, in other words, "real wages" is only another term for the purchasing power of money. A man's nominal wages to-day may be fifteen dollars a week, with low prices; while in 1866, during a period of inflation, he received fifteen dollars a week, and prices were double, on the average, it may be, what they are now. So the man's nominal wages in the two periods named are represented by fifteen dollars a week, but his real wages can be determined only when the prices of the things which he wished to purchase at the two periods are considered.

This consideration of real and nominal wages and the further division of the social and economic elements of the wage question have led labor statisticians in this country, as a rule, to accompany their reports on wages with reports on the cost of living as shown by the prices of leading articles of consumption; but, as a matter of necessity, the different bureaus of statistics of labor have not been able to present prices and wages for long periods of years and for years successively considered. In the Tenth Census, Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, under the direction of General Walker, the Superintendent of Census, collected a large quantity of very valuable material showing the average rates of wages paid in many industries, some of the facts relating to a long period of years. These statistics of wages, however, were averages in nearly every instance, made up in counting-rooms of manufacturing concerns, the method of arriving at the average, the elements entering into it, *etc.*, not being known to the officers in charge of the work. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor

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has, at various times, published statistics of wages covering longer or shorter periods. As a rule, the results were averages made by the bureau itself from original data furnished by manufacturers, the averages being sometimes simple and sometimes complex, but essentially indicative of nominal wages; and as these reports contained many facts relative to the cost of living, one was able, after a good deal of labor, to draw a fairly correct conclusion from the data published. Nearly every one of the other bureaus in the country has at times published fragmentary wage and cost-of-living statistics; but the attempt of the student of real wages to ascertain from any single report successive rates of wages and successive prices of commodities for a long period of years has either met with comparative failure or involved a labor which discouraged him almost at the start. The great lack, as felt by legislators, economists, and working-men, has been a report which should present in itself wages and prices for a long period.

This lack has now been supplied by a report on wholesale prices and wages, by Mr. Aldrich of the Senate Committee on Finance, published in March last. This report consists of four octavo volumes, having between six hundred and seven hundred pages each. The principal facts as to wages and prices were collected by the United States Department of Labor for the use of the committee, the wage-rates being taken from actual payrolls, and the prices being wholesale prices from books of sales, in most instances. The period covered by the investigation comprises the years from 1840 to 1891, inclusive. We thus have, carefully collected and compiled and authoritatively reported, the facts for wages and prices in this country for a period of fifty-two years; and from this report one can ascertain, both by specific and by general analysis, the true course of wages for the whole period. The lost time, however, does not appear in the report, and could not. It was difficult enough to find manufacturing concerns for which payrolls from 1840 down could be produced, and wholesale dealers and agents of manufacturers who could furnish their sales-books for a like period. Of course, the quotation for the later part of the period represents far more entries than that for the earlier part; yet a sufficient number of facts for the whole period has been reported to enable one to arrive at an accurate conclusion relative to the course of wages since 1840 and the effect on their purchasing power.

In studying the data referred to, I shall, for the purposes of this article, take up (1) specific wages as paid in some of the leading oc-

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cupations; (2) the relative percentage of increase of wages in general; (3) the prices of some of the leading commodities, specifically considered; and (4) prices considered as a whole. With these four points briefly canvassed, we shall be in a condition to determine positively the relative value of wages at distinct and critical periods of our history since and including 1840. I shall not attempt to take up quotations for all the intervening years between 1840 and 1891, either for wages or for prices, but will take four periods as representative of the different economic conditions in this country during the last fifty years or so. These periods are 1840, 1860, 1866, and 1891.

The year 1860 represents, more nearly than any other year during this half century, normal economic conditions. The country had then recovered from the financial panic of 1837; industry was in a prosperous condition, and so, too, was commerce, while prices were conservative and labor was fairly well employed and fairly well paid. The influence of machinery was not then felt to so large a degree as at present; crops were good, and all the conditions essential for the establishment of a normal economic year seemed to exist. The next year, the War of the Rebellion interfered with conditions, upset prices, disturbed employment, and made the values of crops, investments, and everything pertaining to industrial conditions speculative or problematical; and this abnormal state continued until after the resumption of specie payment in 1878. The year 1866 saw the country still suffering from inflated prices; but the War was over, and industrial conditions were beginning to settle into conservative ways. So 1860 and 1866 represent extremes of normal and abnormal industrial conditions, while the years 1840 and 1891 represent the opposite extreme limits of general conditions. Prices were low in 1840; labor was low, and immigration had not set in, to any disturbing extent. In 1891 we have low prices again, with highly-paid labor, although the country is filled by immigration. The four years selected, therefore, are fair for any positive comparison of the course of real or nominal wages in the United States since 1840.

There would be no necessity whatever of examining the quotations of real wages in the presence of authentic statements as to the rates of wages, were there no fluctuations in prices; that is to say, should the general trend of wages be upward and the general trend of prices downward, the rates of wages would sufficiently indicate the real wages of the wage-receiver; or, if wages increased and prices remained stationary, the purchasing power of the wage received would

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be enhanced. For instance, if a man receives one dollar a day in wages and wheat is seventy-five cents a bushel, and ten years hence he receives two dollars a day for his labor and wheat still remains at seventy-five cents, then his purchasing capacity, as represented by his wages, has been doubled. But during the period under consideration the fluctuations of prices have been so great and so sudden that we are obliged, for the purpose of arriving at any just conclusion, to consider the two elements.

The pay of laborers is quite indicative of general conditions. In 1840, a laborer in a large brewery in the city of New York received 62.5 cents a day; in 1860, 84 cents a day; in 1866, $1.30 a day; in 1891, from $1.90 to $2 a day. Compositors who worked by the day received, in 1840, $1.50; in 1860, $2; in 1866, from $2.50 to $3, and the same in 1891. These quotations are for a well-known establishment in the State of Connecticut. A building firm in Connecticut paid journeymen carpenters, in 1840, from $1.25 to $1.62 a day; in 1860, from $1.25 to $1.75 a day; in 1891, from $3 to $3.25 a day. A firm of builders in New York paid, in 1840, $1.50 a day; in 1860, $2; in 1866, $3.50; in 1891, $3.50. Painters received the same. Similar quotations could be made for carpenters and painters in different parts of the Eastern States. The rates of wages paid to wheelwrights were, in 1840, $1.25; in 1860, $1.25; in 1866, $2; in 1891, $2.50. Cotton weavers (women) in Massachusetts earned, in 1840, on the average, about 62 cents a day; in 1860, 54.5 cents; in 1866, from 85 to 90 cents, on the average; in 1891, $1.05. Women frame-spinners were paid about the same, earning a little more in the later years. Wool spinners, both jack and mule, earned less than one dollar a day in 1840, while in 1860 they earned $1.05 a day; in 1866, from $1.80 to $1.90 a day; in 1891, from $1.38 to $1.75 a day.

The average earnings of puddlers have been subject to great variations. An average must be used here because puddlers are paid largely by the ton. In 1840, at Aetna, Pennsylvania, puddlers earned $3.69 a day; in 1860, $2.67 a day; in 1866, from $5.37 to $6.04 a day; in 1891, $3.67. In another iron works, at Duncannon, Pennsylvania, the rates were $2.30, $2.01, $4.83, and $2.91 for the years named. The rates of wages a day, successively for the years named, for blasters and drillers in the New Jersey ore district, were 75 cents, $1, $1.65, and $1.50; and for unskilled laborers in mining ore at Cornwall, Pennsylvania, 50 cents, 75 cents, $1.45, and $1.55.

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The salaries paid to teachers indicate the earnings of a well-equipped body of public servants. From facts furnished by the Hon. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, it is learned that principals of boys' high schools in Baltimore received, per annum, in 1840, $1,500; in 1860, $1,500; in 1866, $2,200; in 1891, $2,400. Principals in primary schools for both boys and girls in the same city received salaries ranging at $250, $300, $700, and $696 per annum. Assistants (women) in the lowest primary schools in the city of Boston received, for the first year of service, $300 in 1860, $450 in 1866, and $456 in 1891. The range for masters in grammar-schools in the same city was from $1,500 in the earlier period to $2,880 in the last year that we are considering. Stepping outside of cities, the facts are found very complete for the remote districts of Barnstable County, in the State of Massachusetts, where men received, in 1840, $20.28 a month; in 1860, $40.73 a month; in 1866, $53.60 a month; in 1890, $68.18 a month. Women in the same counties received $6.14, $19.12, $22.53 and $34.88 a month. Principals (men) of district schools in Cincinnati received, for our four periods, $540, $1,200, $1,900, and $1,900 a year, the last two quotations being for salaries after three years' service.

These various individual quotations are, perhaps, sufficient to indicate the course of wages in some of the leading occupations of the country where such quotations can be secured for the whole period. Very many more could be given, but they would be cumulative only.

Personal equation in the rates of wages must not be lost sight of. I have at hand a very peculiar instance of this in the wages paid to a bookkeeper (a man) in a drygoods house in the city of Manchester, N. H. In 1850, this bookkeeper received sixty-three cents a day. With varying compensation, he secured a salary of two dollars a day in 1865, and he continued to work for this until January, 1877, when a young woman was appointed to his place, at one dollar a day. After working four years, she received precisely the same salary the man was receiving when he was discharged, that is, two dollars a day, while in 1889, in January, her salary was raised to $3.33 a day, at which figure it now remains. The man enlisting with the firm in January, 1850, at sixty-three cents a day, and working twenty-seven years, received only two dollars a day, and that for a long term, while the young woman, starting at one dollar a day, was able in eleven years to secure $3.33 a day. Personal equation is also strongly influential in the course of wages in many occupations; for instance,

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among salesmen in large shops. A salesman may have become exceedingly valuable to his employers and may earn, say, $2,000 or $3,000 a year, when some rival house offers him $5,000, and a new man is obtained in the old house at from $1,200 to $1,500, it may be. So in such instances the course of compensation is not easily traceable; but in the instances we have given, where there is steady occupation, a steady skill desired, and a steady supply, the course of wages becomes quite clear.

Turning from the specific wages paid in some of the leading occupations, it is interesting to study the relative percentage of increase of wages in general. This can be done by assuming that at a certain period wages can be represented by 100, or par, and then calculating the increase or decrease from par in accordance with the facts. This method was adopted by the Senate Committee on Finance in the report to which reference has been made. Whatever wages were in 1860, they are quoted at 100. Starting from this basic point, it was found that, taking the wages (which were taken from actual payrolls) in twenty-two industries and from nearly one hundred distinct establishments, and making a simple average, the percentages stood at 87.7 in 1840, as compared with 100 in 1860; that in 1866 they stood at 152.4, and in 1891 at 160.7. But it might be objected that a simple average does not indicate the general percentage of increase or decrease; so the figures have been averaged according to their importance, each industry relative to all industries, as represented by the number employed in each. On this basis, taking 1860 as represented by 100 again, it is found that the general average of wages in 1840 is represented by 82.5, in 1866 by 155.6, and in 1891 by 168.6; that is to say, on this basis wages have increased since 1860, as is shown by percentages, to the extent of 68.6 per cent; and this figure shows the course of wages in this country since that year. On the basis of 100 in 1860, the increase has been from 82.5 in 1840 to 168.6 in 1891, the close of the period discussed.

What has been said relates to what was defined at the beginning of this article as nominal wages. To learn the real wages we must consider the prices of some of the leading commodities specifically considered, and then the course of prices of all articles considered as a whole; and for this purpose wholesale prices, or those prices which come nearest to the producers' prices, more fully indicate the real fluctuations in values. The prices quoted are from actual sales in New York, and I shall use only a few of those articles which enter

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largely into the consumption of the people; and to avoid repetition of dates four quotations will be made, consecutively, representing 1840, 1860, 1866, and 1891.

Boston crackers, medium grade, a pound, 6, 8½, 9, and 5 cents; fair butter, a pound, 16 to 20, 16, 42, and 25 cents; coffee, fair Rio, a pound, 9½, 13½, 23, and 19 cents; eggs, a dozen, 12, 14, 24, and 18 cents; flour, medium quality, a quarter barrel, $1.75, $2.25, $4.06, and $1.63; medium beef, fresh, a pound, 10, 14, 25, and 17 cents; clear bacon, a pound, 8, 8½, 15½, and 6½ cents; prime New Orleans molasses, a gallon, 26, 48, $1.10, and 32 cents; refined sugar, crushed or granulated, a pound, 12, 10, 16.75, and 4.25 cents; Cocheco calico, a yard, 12, 9½, 21, and 6 cents; anthracite stove coal, a ton, $4.50, $3.86, $7.50, and $3.90; rent, for tenement of five rooms, a week, $1.75, $1.75, $4.50, and $4.50. Innumerable other quotations might be made, but the foregoing are fairly representative.

Taking these prices as a whole, and considering them on the same basis as that on which we considered wages, assuming the quotations for 1860 to be 100, or par, and taking 223 of the leading articles of consumption in accordance with their importance relative to total consumption, it is found that the percentages are, for 1840, 97.7 relatively to 100 in 1860, 187.7 for 1866, and 94.4 for 1891; that is to say, prices, generally, have fallen from 100 in 1860 to 94.4 in 1891.

We find then, in a general comparison, that wages, considered relatively to the importance of one industry to all industries, stood at 168.6 in 1891 relatively to 100 in 1860, and that the prices of 223 commodities entering into consumption, on the basis of the importance of each article in proportion to the importance of all, have fallen from 100 in 1860 to 94.4 in 1891; the conclusion being positive and absolute that, while the percentage of increase in prices rose in 1866 to a point far beyond the increase in wages, prices have now fallen to a point lower, on the whole, than they were in 1840, and wages have risen even above the high point they reached in 1866. In these percentages the prices of rents have not been incorporated.

To make a specific illustration now that will come home to the man who deals with common affairs, let us take the case of a journeyman carpenter in the city of New York, see what his wages were in July of the four years named, and what he would have had to pay for the articles which have been enumerated above, at the price quoted for each for July of each year, assuming that he could purchase these

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things at wholesale rates. For the purpose of simplifying the problem and making it as natural as possible, we will assume that the carpenter bought, in each of the years named, five pounds of Boston crackers, of fair grade; five pounds of butter, of fair grade; two and a half pounds of cheese; two pounds of fair Rio coffee; one dozen eggs; one quarter of a barrel of flour, of medium grade; four pounds of fresh beef, of medium grade; four pounds of bacon, clear; one gallon of prime New Orleans molasses; five pounds of refined sugar, either crushed or granulated; ten yards of Cocheco calico, and half a ton of anthracite stove coal; and that he paid one week's rental. All these articles would have cost, for the years named, respectively, $10.22, $10.73, $21.66, and $12.17. The journeyman carpenter received, in 1840, $1.50 a day; in 1860, $2 a day; in 1866, $3.50 a day; and in 1891, $3.50 a day. In 1891 he worked eight hours and in the other years ten hours a day. His earnings in July of the years named were, therefore, respectively, $9, $12, $21, and $21 a week. In 1840, after paying the bill which has been described at the close of the last week in July, he would have been in debt $1.22; in 1860 he would have had left from his week's wages $1.27; in 1866 he would have been in debt 66 cents; while in 1891 he would have had $8.83 to spare.

These simple references and combinations show quite clearly the real wages as against the nominal wages of the wage-receiver, and the inevitable conclusion to which they lead is that whenever prices of commodities rise, they rise higher, relatively, than does the price of labor, and that when prices go down they go down much lower, relatively, than does the price of labor, which remains ordinarily very nearly at its inflated price.

No attempt has been made in the foregoing calculations to reduce values to a gold basis, because in all the periods considered labor was paid in currency at its gold or inflated value, and the man who received the wages paid for his articles on the same basis. For instance, the carpenter named received $3.50 in 1866 in the inflated currency of that year, while in 1891 he received $3.50 on the gold basis of that year. It was so with the things which he purchased. He bought calico in 1840 on a gold basis at twelve cents a yard, while in 1866 he paid for the same goods under the inflated currency of that year twenty-one cents a yard, and in 1891 he was able to buy it at six cents a yard on a gold basis.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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CAN CHEMICAL ANALYSIS CONVICT POISONERS?

THE question propounded in the heading of this article is of moment to every man who is liable to be called as a juror in a murder-trial or who does not understand the wonderful minuteness and precision of modern laboratory methods and the consequent efficiency of the expert analyst as an agent in revealing crime. At this moment, we seem to be passing through an epidemic of poisoning. For the last two years, the newspapers have devoted columns to the discrepant testimony of chemical and pathological experts in murder-trials; and the perplexed reader must often have asked himself, Is an ingenious poisoner really safe from detection? Can he neutralize the symptoms of one poison by administering a second poison simultaneously? Can he poison so secretly, with such insidious refinement of method, or by such minute doses, as to baffle the most searching analysis? Is it therefore unsafe to convict a suspected criminal on merely scientific testimony? Or has science such tests and appliances that its detection of the minutest trace of poison in the dead tissue of a victim's body is certain, infallible and conclusive, no matter what skill or craft may have been employed to thwart it? These absorbing questions I will endeavor to answer succinctly in the following pages.

The crime of poisoning is the most cowardly and heinous of all human offences. It is conceived, carried on and perfected in cold blood. No plea of temporary insanity will have weight with judge or jury, as in the sudden use of pistol, knife or other weapon. It is accomplished in secret; sometimes by a husband, or a wife; children, even, have offered poison to their own parents in food and drink, with hypocritical words of endearment. Days, weeks or months may elapse in carrying out the fiendish purpose. Great ingenuity and deliberation have at times been employed. Persons of high intellectual culture have exhibited adroitness and skill in the selection of a poison and in the mode of its administration. Unworthy members of the learned professions, doctors, lawyers, even preachers, have been condemned for poisoning. The crime sometimes runs in epidemics. Thus an epidemic of poisoning raged in Italy in the fifteenth

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century and another a hundred years later. In the middle of the seventeenth century, France was cursed with this crime. History narrates that women became adepts. The wives of princes, dukes, counts and others of noble rank associated to receive instruction in the horrid art. Their victims were numbered by thousands; even a Roman Pontiff was not spared. In Asia, the crime of poisoning is common. Some years ago, on my mentioning to a physician who had practised his profession in the East that I had examined forty cases of poisoning in a twelvemonth—few of which came to trial—he replied that he had been called to nearly four hundred cases in the same time in China, and that orpiment, a sulphide of arsenic, was the favorite poison.

The number of known poisons has multiplied enormously with the march of medical science, and an educated rascal now has access to methods of murder not dreamed of a century ago. In some cases, medical villains have attempted to mask one poison by administering a second, as arsenic, then antimony; or belladonna, after morphia; also to deceive attending physicians, by counteracting the effects of a narcotic poison on the pupils of the eyes, and in other ways not wise to describe. A physician's knowledge of the human structure enables him to introduce the toxic agents in any aperture of the body, even through the skin, or sub-cutaneously—taking instruction from the rattlesnake, which, more noble and generous than the human assassin, announces its intention by a note of warning. The medical man's familiarity with the potent agencies of pharmacy and chemistry enables him to select either those which are comparatively mild or moderate in their action, and thus escape suspicion, or those most virulent and speedy. His medical diploma arms him with authority to write prescriptions, and thus to secure from the druggist any form of poison. Here his lay brother-in-crime meets his first difficulty. If by misrepresentation he obtains a poison, it is at the risk of discovery; thus the attractive veil of secrecy is partially withdrawn. A druggist, for instance, once made affidavit that a clergyman of Jersey City, after learning from him the properties and dose of tartar emetic, and after inspecting the bottle with its Latin label, called on two different occasions, when no customers were in the store, and asked the druggist for a book or pamphlet, which obliged him to go to a room upstairs. The reverend gentleman then stole the poisonous salt and administered it to his wife. It is remarkable, by the way, that although almost every conceivable variety of wickedness is described in Biblical records, no case of criminal poisoning is described in either

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the Old or the New Testament. The word "poison" occurs only nine times in the Scriptures, meaning the poison of serpents, asps and adders; or in figurative expressions. A single case of suicidal poisoning is narrated in the Apocrypha.

While it is true, however, that skilled poisoners have new resources, so also has the chemical analyst for their exposure. Chemical handbooks, nowadays, are indeed superseded within a few years of their publication; and analytic instruments and agents are becoming constantly more delicate and accurate, more exquisitely adapted to meet the most subtle new devices of the ingenious criminal. Though the dream of the ancient alchemist of transmuting base metals into nobler ones has never been realized, the chemist of this era can accomplish marvels that almost surpass belief. The skilled toxicologist reveals the presence of poisons, often when only faint traces exist, by removing them from their surroundings, with solvents, requiring hours, days and sometimes weeks for the separation; exciting them to form combinations with other elements, he causes them to appear in solid, liquid or gaseous conditions. Many of them he arrays in varied colors, or in crystalline shapes, seen distinctly by the achromatic or apochromatic lenses of the microscope. Others he volatilizes in flame, and he views their incandescent vapors through the prisms of the spectroscope. Brilliantly tinted and sharply defined lines, in localities accurately noted, reveal the existence of metals so trifling in quantity that they elude measurement by the balance, with all its modern refinements, and so small that the human brain can scarce imprison the thought of their minuteness.

To take one example: suppose the finger is wetted with a drop of saliva and touched to a salt of lithium, and the adherent white powder is placed on the tongue and then swallowed. After the lapse of a few minutes, on drawing a clean platinum wire over the forehead or any part of the skin, then placing it with its traces of moisture in a Bunsen flame in front of the narrow slit of the spectroscope, an observer, looking through the little telescope of the instrument, will see for a fraction of a second the bright-colored red and yellow lines characteristic of lithium. The soluble salt has passed through the entire circulatory system of the body, and its presence is announced in the perspiration! The spectroscope thus enables the chemist to detect by their bright colored lines, in definite portions of the spectral scale, infinitesimal traces of metals. Each metal has its trade-mark. When the spectroscope is combined with the microscope, it surpasses all

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chemical reagents in detecting blood by dark bands in certain parts of the spectrum. If death has been caused by the inhalation of carbon monoxide gas (carbonic oxide), contained in illuminating gas, or the same gas from a coal-fire, the effect of the poisonous gas upon the blood can be detected by characteristic absorbent bands, even years after its fatal effects.

The microscope is an essential adjuvant in many chemical researches. It enables the expert to recognize characteristic crystalline forms and to exhibit them to the court and jurors. In the Mary Stannard case, in Connecticut, where a clergyman was charged with the crime of poisoning a woman with arsenic, the varying forms of arsenical powders were of serious importance. Nearly a spoonful of "arsenic," really arsenious oxide, was found by the toxicologist in the stomach of the presumably murdered girl. Marks of violence that defaced the body made it evident that death was not suicidal. The microscopic examination of the white powder found, revealed it as markedly crystalline; indeed, enough so to excite the interest of the analyst. An exhaustive study of the methods employed in the manufacture of white arsenic was conducted, the character of commercial specimens being carefully noted. With this preliminary and exact work as a basis, the scientist tested various samples of arsenic secured from the drug-stores whence the suspected poisoner had possibly purchased arsenic. Only one specimen tallied in its appearance with the arsenic from the stomach. There were circumstantial details substantiating the view of the expert that the arsenic in the stomach had been purchased at a particular place and time.

It is not alone by the shape and structure that chemists determine the character of objects seen under the microscope. Great advances have been made recently whereby chemical reactions are applied to the various specimens, and by the changes they effect the identity of the object is determined. Since micro-photography has been developed, a permanent print can be secured showing the structure and form; but it needs the trained eye to catch the evanescent colors that come and go, yet show distinctly the nature of the infinitesimal weight of substance in the field of view. These change under chemical treatment, and at times enable the toxicologist to recognize important data connected with a case—even determining the time that has elapsed since death, the changes in the vital fluid due to suffocation or other violence. Electricity has similarly contributed its mysterious power in toxicological analyses, as in producing ozone for the purple color re-

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action for strychnia, or in yielding nascent hydrogen gas from distilled water for the "Marsh test" for arsenic and antimony; also in electro-plating gold and platinum with these and other metals. With some poisons the sense of taste and even the olfactory nerves, are brought into requisition. The chemist recognizes thus the persistent bitterness in almost invisible quantities of strychnia, the bitter-almond odor of prussic acid, or the garlic flavor of heated arsenic.

The search for a poison in the dead tissue of a human being is a matter of time and labor. The contents of various organs of the body, or the organs themselves—sometimes the entire muscular system—are dissolved by appropriate chemicals, in distilled water, aided by moderated heat, and the metallic poisons are separated therefrom by gases, such as hydrogen, or its ill-odored compound with sulphur. With the latter, the metals unite, forming yellow, red, brown, black, or white sulphides. These may be collected on filter paper, washed with sulphuretted-hydrogen-water, and separated from each other by chemical solvents. With certain acids they may be made invisible again, and after thorough purging from every trace of organic matter, re-precipitated as pure sulphides of the metals. Once more placed in a soluble form, they may be deposited as pure metals, or in union with other elements, exhibiting various tints of the rainbow. At times, they assume characteristic geometrical shapes, easily recognized by the marvellous magnifying power of lenses.

To show the extraordinary pains taken in the laboratory to reach accurate results, let me describe one of the methods of procedure in searching for traces of arsenic. The lightest of all elements, hydrogen, has the power of associating with many metals and conferring on them its own invisibility, even with twenty-five times its own weight of arsenic, and forty times its weight of antimony. This discovery of Marsh has induced many of the most renowned chemists to modify his original apparatus. One of the most complete devices consists of a U-shaped glass tube capable of holding two or three fluid ounces, in each branch of which, through corks, tongues of gold or platinum are inserted, after the tube is partly filled with distilled water. On the connection of these strips of metal with an electrical current, the water decomposes. The oxygen gas from the plus pole is allowed to escape through a narrow glass tube placed in the cork and is collected in a suitable vessel, for employment later on in the analysis. The hydrogen gas from the opposite electrical pole is passed through a glass tube introduced in the cork on its side of the U tube, thence

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into a wider glass tube packed with fragments of caustic potash and next through a flattened coil of narrow glass tube, heated red hot by a Bunsen flame, after the air has been discharged, sometimes through a second coil, also heated; and lastly, the end of the tubing is curved downwards and dipped into a solution of silver nitrate. If after some minutes, the generated hydrogen has not stained the strip of platinum, the sticks of potash which dry the gas, the cold parts of the glass tube beyond the heated coils, or the silver solution, its purity is demonstrated.

Then the suspected liquid is gradually added, through a little glass funnel, also inserted in the cork of the U tube on the side where hydrogen gas is being discharged. If the liquid contains even traces of arsenic, its presence will be announced in four ways—by an arsenical plating on the platinum, by the appearance of dark spots of metallic arsenic on the sticks of caustic potash, by the deposition of an arsenical mirror lining the first cold part of the glass tubes beyond the heated coils, and by a precipitation of metallic silver in the nitrate solution.

If, now, a gentle heat is applied to one of the arsenical mirrors lining the narrow tube, this volatilizes the stain of arsenic, which unites with the pure oxygen forced in a gentle current through the adjoining hot coil, and deposits in minute white octahedral crystals, of arsenious oxide, on the interior of the first cold portions of the glass tube beyond the coil. Sometimes the arsenic burns with bright flashes of light in the tube. Here we have a fifth proof of the presence of arsenic from the combustion into the oxide of arsenic, a sixth proof, that the deposit is white, and a seventh proof from the characteristic crystalline form. If a garlic odor is detected at this time at the end of the tube we have an eighth proof of the presence of the poison. Other chemical tests will establish at least thirty cumulative and corroborative proofs of the presence of arsenic. Then the metallic spots on the little sticks of caustic potash may also be dissolved; and if they be found to respond to all the reactions for arsenic, we have an additional number of tests to demonstrate the presence of arsenic beyond the shadow of a doubt.

In the case of other poisons, similar pains are taken. A recent analysis for morphine in the exhumed stomach of a murdered woman lasted nearly three months. At the end of that time the presence of morphine in the organ had been proved by a score of check processes; and a frog, inoculated with a little of the abstracted substance, ex-

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hibited all the symptoms of morphine poisoning betrayed by another frog which had been inoculated at the same time with pure morphine from the laboratory.

From even a trifling quantity of material, the analyst will sometimes produce the most damaging results. One of a very important set of exhibits in a celebrated antimonial poison case was a drop of water in a phial. It was the residue of some drinking-water, testified to as having been prepared by the indicted person to be given to his wife. The bottle was new and had been cleansed with distilled water. This bottle, full of drinking-water, was corked and placed by the witness in his trousers-pocket. But, alas! as he testified, "the stoppel of the bottle came out and the suspected water was lost." He was told to bring the empty bottle for examination, and the lining of his pocket. The quantity of water left in the phial was so trifling that it could not be poured out. It had to be withdrawn by means of a capillary glass tube. Yet when it was evaporated slowly on a microscopic glass slide, crystals of tartar emetic appeared. These were micro-photographed; and then the metallic antimony was obtained from them—the red sulphide and other characteristic reactions of antimony were produced. Antimony was also secured from a strip of the pocket-lining no longer than a man's finger. In another peculiar case within the writer's experience—that of James Stephens, in 1858—the body of the prisoner's wife was exhumed from Greenwood cemetery, after twelve months' burial. Arsenic was obtained from every part of her body. The soil from her grave was analyzed, but it proved to be not arsenical. As a professor of chemistry had said publicly that possibly the wood of her coffin might contain arsenic, the coffin was subjected to inspection, also its lining, the shroud and even the coffin-nails! No arsenic was found in them. Samples of the glass and porcelain vessels used in the investigation were critically examined. They were arsenic-free. As the question of "normal arsenic" might have been discussed at the trial, the entire body of an unfortunate woman who had frozen to death was also analyzed. But no traces of arsenic were discovered. The exclusion of all extraneous sources of the poison was essential for the conviction.

In the experience of half a century, it is most interesting to note the progress in medical jurisprudence in this country. We were taught once, and in turn taught others, that the chemist should submit the substances given him by the coroner or district-attorney—

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generally the stomach and its contents, with perhaps some articles of diet—to careful analysis, and report the analysis to these authorities, and in court. Unfortunately, the physician, in making the autopsy, frequently opened the stomach, in hope of seeing the poison and its corrosive effects, and displaced the contents. If any volatile poison was present, a characteristic odor might be observed; but it could not be subjected to proper chemical examination. Then followed the vital improvement of ligating the stomach at its extremities, and also the intestines which, as they are from twenty-five to thirty feet in length, may contain more than the stomach. As chemical processes improved, the absorbed poison was looked for, and the removal and preservation of the various organs of the body and muscular tissues for analysis was required. Subsequently, the chemist was invited to be present at the autopsy, to examine carefully the entire surface of the body for traces of the hypodermic injection of poisons, and to observe whether the muscles bore evidence of contraction, seen sometimes shortly after death from strychnia. Thirty-five years ago the writer adopted the plan of a special laboratory, with dissecting-room attached, the doors and windows being kept under lock and seal, where he allowed none to enter except the chemical assistant, so that in court he could testify to what he knew and not simply believed, as to the materials' not having been tampered with.

A reasonable conclusion, with regard to the whole subject—warranted, I think, by long experience—is that there is no poison to which the public has access that cannot be detected. Although volatile poisons may disappear in a few days and organic ones decompose and therefore pass beyond our power of recognition in human remains after some months, yet the metallic poisons can be detected, by our improved methods of research, years, yes, centuries after death, if the body has been protected from mingling with the soil. The craven heart of the poisoner, it is true, rejoices at the popularity of the present process of embalming immediately after death with arsenical and other poisonous preparations. He knows it will interfere with the chemical researches of the most skilled investigators. May we not hope that continued efforts will secure legislative enactments forbidding the employment of this class of preservatives?

Although chemical analysis is a most important factor in poison cases, I am constrained to admit that, without additional evidence and honest officials, it has been rendered valueless. The Old Testament doctrine, " At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he

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that is worthy of death be put to death; but at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death," re-announced by Christ, "That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established," is most assuredly recognized by chemists as applicable in their researches. The reputation and even the life of the accused, they know, may depend on the accuracy and completeness of the analysis. The same conscientious principle does not, unfortunately, always rule among all the officers engaged in exposing crime. I can recall a score of instances within my own experience, in which poisoners have been acquitted or have escaped the death-penalty, after the expert analyst had established their guilt conclusively in the laboratory.

Thus, a man named John Spicer died suddenly in New York some years ago with every symptom of strychnia poisoning. The alkaloid was discovered adhering to the papers that held the seidlitz-powders given him by a woman with whom he had been living. His remains were analyzed and strychnia was obtained from them, even in crystalline form. The woman escaped conviction, and secured his property. A physician in Brooklyn was tried for poisoning a man of whose wife he was enamored. The remains were exhumed from Greenwood cemetery. Arsenic was found in every part of the body and exhibited in court. By the skill and adroitness of his legal defenders he was released. At a boarding-house in Fourteenth Street, New York City, eight persons were poisoned, four of whom died. Their remains were analyzed, and arsenic was obtained from each of them, and from every part of their bodies. The cook had threatened to "bring all Fourteenth Street to the house before night, if her wages were not paid." She was arrested, but for want of sufficient evidence as to her criminality she was liberated. At Newton, New Jersey, a man was arrested for poisoning his wife to secure her life-insurance of four thousand dollars. His accomplice and instructor was a physician who was tried for the crime. Although the woman's body had been interred for several months, and in summer, yet from her remains strychnia was extracted. It gave all the characteristic color-reactions, crystals of the alkaloid were isolated and seen by microscopic aid, and tetanic convulsions and death were produced therefrom in five little frogs. The trial resulted in the imprisonment of the doctor for ten years, and in the liberation of the husband!

The public would be astounded if the mysterious influences sometimes brought to bear on grand jurors were known. In the Stephens case, already cited, but for the courageous persistence of one of the

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grand jurors, no bill of indictment would have been found, although the prisoner was afterwards condemned and executed. State officials themselves have sometimes thwarted the efforts of the chemist. A butcher in a county of New York had married a woman much older than himself, the possessor of one hundred thousand dollars. She died suddenly and was buried in Greenwood cemetery. Suspicious circumstances led to her exhumation, and morphine was found in her remains. The case was presented first before a justice of the peace, but no indictment was found. Months after, the excitement in the community was such that the expert was subpœnaed to testify before the grand-jury of the county. When he appeared at the appointed day, the district-attorney delayed him a long time, then informed him that the grand-jury had been engaged in another case and had adjourned. The invitation to repeat his visit was never made. Years afterwards, it was discovered that the butcher had bribed both the justice and the district-attorney, with the money left by the wife he had poisoned.

Nowadays, an accused poisoner sometimes engages a chemist to criticise the scientific work of the State's expert. The legal acumen of his counsel, aided by scientific advisers, is taxed to present an array of ingeniously devised questions to demonstrate to court and jury the untrustworthiness and worthlessness of the testimony presented and the incompetency of the toxicologist for the prosecution. To quote an appropriate phrase of a recent convict, "the jury are sand-bagged with science!" For self-protection, the chemist should have an associate to testify to the accuracy of the methods employed, the purity of the chemical reagents, and the cleanliness of the vessels used in the research. Where volatile poisons, such as prussic acid, chloroform, *etc.*, or alkaloidal poisons, as strychnia, morphine, belladonna, and the like, are searched for, as the quantities discovered are small and often cannot be exhibited in court, it is the more essential that at least two experts should conduct the lengthened and elaborate investigation, and witness the changing color-tests, and especially the characteristic reactions which distinguish them from those given by ptomaines and leucomaines, which are formed in the human body. In metallic poisoning cases, the metal or metals should be presented to the jurors, also their distinguishing combinations; sometimes the crystalline forms of their compounds may be shown under the microscope.

In our lectures on medical jurisprudence, we now teach the stu-

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dents that the accused person in poison cases should have his, or her, separate pathologist and chemical expert, to be associated with the pathologist and chemist for the prosecution in their scientific investigations. Should the accused person be unable to bear the expense thus involved, the court should assume it, as when a prisoner is unable to engage counsel, provision is invariably made by the presiding judge to meet the emergency. We insist that the experts for the State and for the accused should be associated from the initiative steps until a conclusion is reached. The chemists would then be obliged to agree upon certain well-established methods of research. Were this plan adopted, much valuable time of court and counsellors would be saved; the labors of the jurors would be less exhausting; unseemly wrangling between legal champions for their respective experts would be avoided; the chemists and pathologists would testify under less excitement and nervousness; and not only would the aim and object of the trial be more speedily accomplished, but in all probability a more just conclusion would be arrived at, and science would not be prostituted to shield the guilty. A new *régime* was inaugurated in New York, of serious importance in securing the talents and time of experienced toxicologists, when a suitable honorarium was proffered for their laborious, disagreeable and responsible services.

I am further of the opinion that great harm may be done by the recital in open court of expert testimony concerning the criminal use of chemicals. More than once the writer has been obliged thus to offer expert testimony of a nature unfit, in many ways, for the public ear—sometimes in forgery cases, where the description of methods employed gave instruction in forgery. He has repeatedly presented this subject to leading lawyers and has urged the adoption of the French system in this regard. On two occasions, being permitted to be present at criminal trials in Paris, because of his relation with courts in the United States, he has seen the court-room cleared of spectators, and even of the representatives of the press, during the presentation of testimony deemed unfit for publicity. Many years ago, in discussing this subject with him, the late Justice Bradley of the United States Supreme Court assured him that the Hon. Wm. L. Dayton, formerly State Attorney in New Jersey, and then our Minister to France, who had had experience in several poison cases, was strongly of the opinion that the French custom was wiser than ours in criminal trials.

R. Ogden Doremus.

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RISE AND DOOM OF THE POPULIST PARTY.

THE last quarter-century of our national life has been distinct and unique in the absorbed attention which our people have given to the study and discussion of economics. To the gigantic and revolutionary effects of the Civil War, which no man was able even faintly to foresee and which we cannot now adequately comprehend, are we indebted for this condition of the public mind. That Titanic struggle not only obliterated the subjects of political controversy and popular gossip for fifty years, but it overturned all social, political, industrial and economic conditions, bringing to life new conditions, new problems, new policies. The peculiar fruit of that sentimental war has been the removal of sentimental questions from party consideration and the substitution of economic problems, of which the common people of the *ante-bellum* time knew almost nothing. Thus it is that discussions of finance, governmental functions and systems of revenue, which would have cleared the benches of any town-hall previously to 1860, are now heard with attention, intelligence and enthusiasm. Contributory influences have been the false enactments and artificial policies instituted by legislation. It was inevitable, in the nature of things, that a nation's thought, directed so strongly and suddenly along new channels and toward subjects which require for their comprehension the most minute and profound study and trained intelligence, should be often misguided and led into fanaticism, economic blunders and financial fallacies. As the combined result of all these causes we have to-day the so-called People's Party.

That party, in the first year of its national existence, made a record unparalleled in our history, well calculated to cause apprehension among the greater parties. It cast more than a million votes, or nearly as many votes as elected Abraham Lincoln; gave its Presidential candidate twenty-two electoral votes; carried four States and placed eight members in the House; and it has now five members in the Senate. The first definite, immediate steps toward the party's

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formation were taken about eight years ago, when Farmers' Alliances were organized in all the States of the West. These Alliances were at first purely local and industrial. The members held meetings to discuss crop conditions and the best methods in agriculture and horticulture. The three or four years following were disastrous to the farmers. Their crops failed, they were in want, and had little money, and their produce brought low prices. Distress and discontent came and clamors for assistance arose. Their minds, crammed with unformed socialistic ideas, were inflamed by Alliance orators and by the circulation of books of the Donnelly-Bellamy type. These Alliances determined, independently of one another, that monopolies were grasping the earth, that gigantic conspiracies were forming to enslave them, and that the moneyed classes were united against the masses. The fact that these conclusions were reached simultaneously and independently all over the West does not prove, as the Populists insist, that they are correct; but it does prove that the leaven administered by paternal legislation, after the close of the Civil War, was working throughout all the great social organism of the West. Yet these great uprisings and apprehensions indicated also real and serious grievances and burdens of injustice which bore heavily upon Western farmers. The three main grievances related to transportation, land and money.

The history of the methods of Western railway corporations is a story of rapacity, fraud, extortion, and gigantic plunder. Every reader is doubtless aware of the terms on which the Pacific railways were built. Fifty million dollars were loaned outright by the Government to the constructors of the Union Pacific, and a grant was made to them of land equal in value and extent to an empire. All the valuable land is now sold; but not one cent of that great loan has ever been paid. The mortgage is almost due; yet there is now a scheme before Congress, said to have President Cleveland's sanction, to renew the loan for eighty years and reduce the interest to two per cent. After the road was built, its owners, under the manipulations of the Crédit Mobilier organization, watered the stock to an enormous extent, and out of that deal they secured enormous private fortunes. The road itself tottered near the brink of bankruptcy and was saved only by the protecting arm of the Government, which has sustained it and its owners in their frauds. As no dividends could be paid by reasonable charges on stock so enormously watered, the Union Pacific, aided by the other Pacific railways and by other lines

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which came later into the field, put in force all over the West rates for freight-carriage, extortionate and unjust beyond any description.

Nothing has done more to injure the region than these freight-rates. The railroads have retarded its growth as much as they first hastened it. The rates are often four times as large as Eastern rates. For example, let a New York dealer consider a freight-bill of sixty dollars for a car of crockery shipped one hundred and twenty-five miles. That is the Nebraska rate. The extortionate character of the freight-rates has been recognized by all parties, and all have pledged themselves to lower them, but no State west of the Missouri has been able to do so. In the early days, people were so anxious to secure railways that they would grant any sort of concession which the companies asked. There are counties in Iowa and other Western States struggling under heavy loads of bond-taxes, levied twenty-five years ago, to aid railways of which not one foot has been built. Perhaps a little grading would be done, and then the project would be abandoned, the bonds transferred and the county called upon by the "innocent purchaser" to pay the debt incurred by blind credulity. I have known men to sacrifice fortunes, brains and lives in fighting vainly this iniquitous bond-swindle. Railways have often acquired mines and other properties by placing such high freight-rates upon their products that the owner was compelled to sell at the railroad company's own terms. These freight-rates have been especially burdensome to the farmers, who are far from their selling and buying markets, thus robbing them in both directions.

Another fact which has incited the farmer against corporations is the bold and unblushing participation of the railways in politics. At every political convention, their emissaries are present with blandishments and passes and other practical arguments to secure the nomination of their friends. The sessions of these legislatures are disgusting scenes of bribery and debauchery. There is not an attorney of prominence in Western towns who does not carry a pass or has not had the opportunity to do so. The passes, of course, compass the end sought. By these means, the railroads have secured an iron grip upon legislatures and officers, while no redress has been given to the farmer.

The land question, also, is a source of righteous complaint. Much of the land of the West, instead of being held for actual settlers, has been bought up by speculators and Eastern syndicates in large tracts. They have done nothing to improve the land and have

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simply waited for the inevitable settler who bought cheaply a small "patch" and proceeded to cultivate it. When he had prospered so that he needed more land, he found that his own labor had increased tremendously the value of the adjacent land. The faithfulness of many of the pictures drawn by Mr. Hamlin Garland, in "Under the Lion's Paw," is affirmed, although the remedy proposed, the single tax, would bring worse conditions. Closely connected with the land abuse are the money grievances. As his pecuniary condition grew more serious, the farmer could not make payments on his land. Or he found that, with the ruling prices, he could not sell his produce at a profit. In either case he needed money, to make the payment or maintain himself until prices should rise. When he went to the money-lenders, these men, often dishonest usurers, told him that money was very scarce, that the rate of interest was rapidly rising, *etc.*, so that in the end the farmer paid as much interest a month as the money-lender was paying a year for the same money. In this transaction, the farmer obtained his first glimpse of the idea of "the contraction of the currency at the hands of Eastern money sharks." Disaster always follows the exaction of such exorbitant rates of interest, and want or eviction quickly came. Consequently, when demagogues went among the farmers to utter their calamitous cries, the scales seemed to drop from the farmer's eyes, and he saw gold-bugs, Shylocks, conspiracies and criminal legislation *ad infinitum*. Like a lightning-flash, the idea of political action ran through the Alliances. A few farmers' victories in county campaigns the previous year became a promise of broader conquest, and with one bound the Farmers' Alliance went into politics all over the West.

That campaign of 1890 was the most thrilling ever known in the West. The country school-houses were packed with excited throngs. County, district and State conventions were attended by great crowds of eager, earnest and indignant farmers. The excitement and enthusiasm were contagious, and the Alliance men deserted their former parties by thousands. Putting a gill of fact and grievance into a gallon of falsehood and lurid declamation, these oratorical Alliance quacks doled out an intoxicating mixture. In vain the reports of the meetings were suppressed by the partisan press. In vain the Republican and Democratic leaders sneered at and ridiculed this new gospel, while they talked tariff and War issues to small audiences. The leading Stalwart Republican organ of Nebraska pleasantly referred to the new party members as "hogs." All the ridicule, abuse and evasion

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aided wonderfully the Alliance cause. Its members shouted that they were being persecuted in their "battle for human rights," and converts came more rapidly. Thus was produced that clamoring brood of Peffers, Simpsons, Kems and McKeighans and the hundred other political rain-makers who proclaimed their virtue on the Western prairies in 1890. Concerned in, but not a part of, the political revolution of that year, the new party presented a strange aspect. The members of the various State Alliances kept up communication during the quiet year of 1891, and gradually, by the steps of the Cincinnati, St. Louis and Omaha conventions, the national party was organized.

For what does this party really and exactly stand? There is much ignorance on this subject, which must be clearly understood in order to determine its strength and forecast its future. The doctrinal basis of Populism is socialism. Without that basis, the castles of Populism could never have been reared so high and so strong. The beliefs of this party are not new. They have often been controverted by argument and by practical tests. But they are especially strong because of their basis, laid by a generation of paternal acts since the War. The three reforms to which this party is pledged relate to the same matters which constituted the real grievances of the farmers: land, transportation and money. The party demands Government ownership of all land not held by actual settlers, Government ownership of all transportation facilities, and Government issue of all money by its fiat alone. The platform declaration on the subject of land is vague, and is a remarkable modification of the communistic ideas first preached by the leaders. With this plank few would quarrel, although the proposed reclamation of lands granted to the railways would be absurd, as nearly all the valuable land has been sold. The Government ownership of railways and other means of transportation is another of their tenets which is undergoing modification. It is still, however, a favorite hobby with thousands and is clearly a scheme of pure socialism. They do not seem to realize that the placing of the seven hundred thousand men now engaged with American railways alone in the hands of any political party, would make that party's dislodgment from power almost impossible and would ultimately lead to a despotism. Nor do they propose a way to secure the ten billion dollars necessary to acquire these railways, except possibly by peculiar and characteristic financial schemes. Indeed, it is marvellous how these men, no matter how ignorant and unlearned, will furnish readily and confidently solutions for all problems of finance—the

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most intricate, delicate and least understood of all Government concerns.

The chief underlying principle of all Populist financial schemes is fiat money. Free silver, a sub-treasury, *etc.*, are purely incidental. It is the cardinal faith of Populism, without which no man can be saved, that money can be created by the Government, in any desired quantity, out of any substance, with no basis but itself; and that such money will be good and legal tender, the Government stamp, only, being required. Free silver will bring some relief, but nothing permanent so long as "contraction of the currency" is possible. We must increase the volume of our currency; that is the desideratum. The Government, say the Populists, which by Protection rolls wealth into the manufacturer's lap, which constructs great harbors, buildings and defences, which gave us free land, pensions, bounties, railways, and created greenbacks, can do anything to increase our money supply. Nothing can give a clearer idea of the Populist view of money than this illustration given to me lately by one of the ablest Populists in the West: "The money-market is like the pork-market in which John Cudahy lost his millions. Eastern financiers and gold-bugs are attempting to corner the money-market, just as Mr. Cudahy attempted to corner the pork-market. Mr. Cudahy failed because the supply of pork was beyond his estimation. Wall Street is succeeding because the supply of money is limited. We insist that the Government should increase the circulating medium to $50 *per capita* and keep it there. As fast as the plutocrats gather in the money, the Government should issue more money until the money-corner is broken." Assuming that this absurd and ludicrous comparison is correct, one cannot help inquiring where the value of money would go after such a corner were broken. It is quite evident that it would go where Mr. Cudahy's pork went.

On this point let me quote from Professor Nicholas Paine Gilman's "Socialism and the American Spirit," in which he says—

> "'What do we care for abroad?' was the ingenuous remark of an American Congressman, when the long experience of Europe in regard to cheap money was brought forward in opposition to some 'wild cat' scheme of his own. His error was plain enough. Human nature and gold and silver dollars and paper substitutes for them are fundamentally the same in their workings in Europe and America. There is no Ohio scheme of political economy worthy of respect from intelligent men; there is no Nevada scheme of finance better adapted to American soil than the knowledge painfully acquired by the greatest commercial nation of the Old World."

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It does seem surprising, with John Law only a century removed and the Argentine lesson staring us in the face, that Populist financial notions can exist. It might seem easy to banish all such nonsense by a half-hour's exposition of history and a fifteen-minute lesson from a political economy primer. But these people will accept no political economy as reliable and no history as unbiassed. Their text-books are Bellamy, Donnelly *et id genus omne*. The Populist faith in the "Gover'ment" is supreme. The Government is all-powerful and it ought to be all-willing. When a Populist debtor is approached by a creditor, his reply is actually often in these words: "I can't pay the debt until the Government gives me relief." This intervention or saving grace of the Government is a personal influence to him, a thing of life. What shall minister to a mind diseased like the Populist's? Only constitutional remedies.

The constituent elements of this party give significant hints as to its character. The rank and file are composed of honest, intelligent men, mild in language and demeanor. During the Omaha convention the writer met frequently and conversed with an old friend, a delegate from an Iowa county. He was a "logical" Populist. One could read and analyze the entire movement in that man's record, which has always been socialistic. When I first knew him he was a Granger, then he became successively a Greenbacker, a Prohibitionist and a Populist. He is a man in more than comfortable circumstances, intelligent, honest and a Christian. It was during his early struggle for subsistence that he became inoculated with the socialist virus, and it remains with him. On the day the convention assembled he exclaimed with fervor, "This campaign is opening just like the first Lincoln campaign." Although the adjectives, "honest," "sincere," and "earnest," may be applied to the followers, their antonyms fit the leaders. At least ninety per cent of these candidates and exhorters are destitute of personal or political integrity. They are political vagabonds, slanderers and demagogues. Their records in their former homes are unsavory. All of them keep in the sore spots of their minds the sad memories of conventions in which they were old party candidates to whom came overwhelming disaster.

At one of the first Alliance Congressional conventions in 1890, it was dramatically asserted that one of the candidates was a lawyer. He escaped violence and recovered a portion of his strength by explaining that although he had been a lawyer, he was then disbarred! A Populist convention in 1892 almost nominated for lieutenant-

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governor a man to whom in former days a jury had been only too kind. Scores of these stump electricians have had lifelong records as mountebanks. General Weaver is an honest man, personally, but he has boxed the compass in politics, always ready warmly to embrace any party or "ism" in the loving ecstasy of political hunger. It has been repeatedly charged that many of these Populist leaders are in the secret employ of the corporations, and the evidence, in some cases, seems conclusive. And so on with almost the entire list. Exceptions may be made of Senators Kyle and Allen, and Mrs. Lease, who knows really little of her themes, but is earnest and honest, and has wonderful hortatory power.

It would be unfair to close this article without recounting the excellent results of the organization of this party in the Western States. Like all third parties, it has done the good work of breaking up old political rings and corrupt administrations, making a cleansing of the old parties imperative. In Kansas it accomplished what would have been an impossibility under previous conditions by electing as a Congressman-at-large an ex-Confederate, thus burying all sectional strife. Barring such circumstances as the Kansas legislative barricades, the State elevator law in Minnesota, and the "State-railway-to-the-gulf" scheme of the Nebraska legislature, the public acts of this party have been very creditable. This is especially true in Nebraska, where the party passed the Australian ballot law and the maximum freight-rate law, an act reducing the extortionate freight-rates. Gigantic forces were at work to accomplish that bill's defeat, but the Populists were assisted by the united Omaha press and the anti-monopolists in the two greater parties. No more glittering baits were ever held out to induce men to swerve from their duty. The law is now suspended by a temporary injunction, issued at the demand of Eastern stockholders, who desire to postpone to a later time this long-deferred act of justice. But the delay will have no permanent effect, except to make good campaign material for the Populists in this year's campaign for the judicial offices. Other meritorious and just laws were passed by this legislature, directed by Populists. In spite of all the great pressure of the corporations, the Populists, by the aid of the Democrats, elected to the Senate an honest man, William Vincent Allen, against the chosen friend of the monopolists, the Republican candidate, the general solicitor of the Union Pacific railway. That election cost Mr. Allen just $74.25. This was probably the smallest sum by which a seat in the present United States Senate was secured. Mr. Allen is

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a Populist, with a head filled with wrong financial notions; but he is a conservative, pure, incorruptible man, who won renown as an eminent attorney and a just, upright judge, whose acts of kindness and charity are legion.

But the greatest benefit derived from this party's birth has been educational. The whole country has been filled with the desire and spirit of investigation, and questions respecting finance and Governmental functions have been studied by men and women as they are studied nowhere else in the world. Out of this Populist movement are gradually evolving sound arguments to counteract their fallacies, and in this fact lies the very means for accomplishing the party's overthrow.

It would be contrary to all reason, logic and history to presume an extended life for this party. As now constituted, it must fail and fall, because it rests upon error. A significant index to its decay is contained in the remarkable speed with which it is deserting its former tenets and growing in the direction of conservatism and sanity. Fiatism is mild compared with the wild plans of the enforced division of property, the spoliation of millionaires' estates, and the thousand other communistic and anarchistic schemes of the first campaign. The party seems intent on reaching safer ground. Although it would not consider a lawyer as a candidate for Congress in 1890, it elected a lawyer to the United States Senate in 1893. The sub-treasury and Government warehouse schemes have been virtually abandoned. A few weeks ago, Nebraska's most honored Populist in a public address defended the banks. This would have been a treasonable act three years ago. At the present time, the party is growing by the accretions of free-silver Democrats who feel that they have been betrayed by their party and their Executive. Could a Congressional election be held to-day, the Populists would win notable victories. But this growth will be temporary, just as the free-silver frenzy must soon pass away. Parenthetically, let it be understood that Populism will derive no benefit from the Waites, Wolcotts, Stewarts and other monometallists of the silver States. Their creed is purely selfish and is not sincere. This temporary agitation and the perfervid cries of "Western Empire" need alarm no Eastern mind, for their influence is very slight and does not sensibly affect the real Populists. Genuine Populism has its home in Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri and Kansas. These States contain three times the population of the entire country West of them. What the Populists want

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is not free silver, *per se*, but more money. And as they have abandoned all their other tenets and staked their existence on fiat, foundationless currency, as a national party the People's Party must fail, just as the Greenback Party failed. Although as Mr. Reed says, humanity is incapable of prolonged virtue, yet the periods of financial heresy are always brief. And with the fiat money heresy dissipated, there will be no tie remaining to unite its elements into a national party.

Whether the party in the various Western States, in its growth toward sanity and reason, will retain strength enough to absorb a majority of the old parties, or whether its members will return to their former parties, are matters of mere conjecture, depending upon local conditions. There are many influences at work to dissolve these State parties as well as the national party. One is the educational impulse given by this movement, which is producing arguments to refute its arguments. Another is the relatively comfortable condition of the Western farmers. Evidences of this dissolution are found in the decay of the Farmers' Alliances, nearly half of them having given up their charters in Nebraska alone. An analysis of last year's election figures will show that, as compared with 1890, the Populists made gains in the towns and lost heavily in the country districts. This farmers' movement cannot long endure when the farmers begin to desert it. Another influence is the recent financial depression, affecting farmers least and "plutocrats" most. The conditions which would tend to prolong the life of the State parties are a continuance of real grievances, and hard times. The same local causes which immediately preceded the uprising would keep it alive. Remedies must be provided for railway and other extortions, and old party leaders will be wise if they continue to remedy real grievances and thus deprive the People's Party of a mission. There is always present a great, overwhelming, unformed anti-monopoly spirit in the West which, when excited to anger, will remedy monopolistic wrongs within, if possible, and, if not, without party lines. But its concern is with local and State affairs only.

So far as the national People's Party is concerned, since Populism is disappearing and its distinctive features are being lost, its dissolution must soon come. The decay of the Western socialistic body, the parent of Populism, will not be so rapid. The deep impressions of thirty years are not so easily removed. There is no doubt, however, that many of the influences now destroying Populism will also

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affect the greater disease. The Populist movement has itself reacted against the spread of socialism by revealing to many who were regarding socialism favorably the logical end of its doctrines in the foolish schemes of the new party. The face of the nation, too, seems turned away from the enactment and toward the repeal of paternal legislation. And as "looking to Washington" still obtains, let Washington, by careful and wise laws, teach the higher truths of individualism. The American people should congratulate themselves that the discovery has so soon been made and that a movement has begun to analyze and check this Western socialism which revealed its strength and, let us hope, attained its prime in the People's Party.

FRANK BASIL TRACY.

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THE TRUE SIGNIFICANCE OF WESTERN UNREST.

It is much believed in the East that recent political movements in the Western part of the United States are manifestations of socialism. I judge this belief to be not wholly, but chiefly, a consequence of the desire of those who entertain it. The socialists of the East, of every shade of belief, naturally desire the West to be with them. They have been quick to assert, therefore, that all the peculiar political activity in recent years in the West, with reference particularly to finance, wages, labor, taxation, and kindred subjects, has been socialistic. I am unable to see that this is true.

But some of those who believe that recent Western movements have been socialistic certainly do not desire to believe it. Such observers have probably been misled by reliance on the news columns of the daily press and hastily written editorial comments thereon. The news dispatches and reprints are fairly correct, so far as concerns the literal statement of fact. The impressions left, however, are often decidedly wrong. Thus the radical utterances of some street orator in Texas get reported in the local papers because a crowd of idle listeners are amused by the harangue and no better news demands space. By the time the local report is gravely quoted and commented on in the East, it presents a most serious aspect. Or, a mass meeting of five or ten men in Nebraska passes resolutions that would have gladdened the heart of Saint-Simon, and when the resolutions arrive in Boston they tell plainly of a full-fledged "movement." Or, again, the Populists of Kansas and Colorado, with their peculiar financial sleep-walking and their necromancy of grip, countersign and dark closet, by the magnifying power of intervening mists take on an appearance in New England like that of the most radical social reformers of Europe. Now add to these deceptive indices the bold claims made by Eastern socialistic reformers as to the progress made in the West by their several favorite theories, and it becomes natural that many should be misled.

It is true, of course, that there are in the West, as elsewhere, social reformers of all grades. The West has a cosmopolitan popu-

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lation. Nearly all her people "came from somewhere" and nearly all were started out of old ruts by some form of necessity. As it is true that necessity is not so very much of a stimulus to dull people, so it happens that the people of the West are mostly of a keen, active and sturdy mental type. They may be crude, but they are very much alive. These facts explain clearly a number of things. They explain why there is no belief entertained anywhere on the face of the earth which does not have its disciples in the West. From the Chinese of California, the Mormons of Utah, the Mennonites of Kansas, and the Schweinfurthians and Anarchists of Illinois, to the most erratic private doctrinaires, the West includes representatives of all that the intellectual world contains. But this is not admitting that any of the well-defined political movements of the West have socialism as a motive power.

Again, the character of Western people, as I have described it, explains why they are apt to "speak out in meeting" more often and more vigorously than their Eastern brethren. Western people are not only keenly alive, but their lives are so ordered that they have time and opportunity to read, think, debate, convene, and resolve. This they do with unfailing regularity and a high average of intelligence. Eastern people are divided in a way that Western people are not. Either they are prosperous and have few political griefs which they need to get excited about, or else they are handicapped in so many ways as to be incapable of much political action except of the mob kind. Not many speeches, articles, legislative bills, or organized reforms can be expected of the miners of Pennsylvania, the mill operatives of New England, the poorer class of tenant-farmers and coast-wise laborers of the Atlantic coast, or the cheap laborers of the great Eastern cities. But Western farmers and workers generally are trained so universally not only to hear but to be heard, not only to read but to write, that they arrive easily at that point of fluency where in times of change and excitement they say and applaud that which they do not fully believe. They have rarely made themselves widely ridiculous by ill-considered utterances, and still more rarely by ill-considered action; but when circumstances conspire greatly to irritate, there is no denying that a great crop of unripe opinions and immature expressions is the result.

The recent political manifestations in the West may properly be said to cover agitations relating to greenbacks, the coinage of the precious metals, and other currency questions; proposed changes in

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systems of state and national banking; defaults, repudiations and readjustments of debts; strikes, boycotts, unions, leagues, and other demonstrations of organized labor; grangerism, labor-unionism, populism and other political or semi-political organizations based on secret, fraternal and coöperative methods; and finally, speculations, failures, alarms, legislations, and migrations affecting the finances of the country. It is somewhat difficult to determine whether to be glad or sorry that these movements cannot be charged to socialism. If they could be considered socialistic, there would be ground at least for respect for the high moral purposes involved. As matters stand, there can be discovered only the methods and motives of the ordinary political reformer—whether leader or voter—the motives of desire to accomplish proper but comparatively small and superficial purposes. The motive of such a voter is to attain an immediate gain, or cure an immediate annoyance. The motive of such a leader, the office-seeker, is partly the same as that of the voter, and partly that he may keep in line with the voter.

The greenback movement was once strong in the West, and there still remains a noticeable fraction of the old Greenback party. The doctrines of that party, all or in part, are now and then advocated. The representative Greenbacker never was particularly a moralist, and he never was, in his own opinion, so radical a reformer as to be called a socialist. Nobody is surer than he that in advocating his financial theories he is asking only that which may as well as not be done; nobody is surer that he is strictly scientific, regular and practical in all his theories. For some years, the leader of the Greenback party in Kansas was the Rev. D. P. Mitchell, a noted presiding elder in the Methodist Church. He was an earnest, impetuous, fiery man, a born crusader. After listening to many of his speeches, one could never discover anything wrong or questionable about him except that, through some peculiarity of his mind, he was positively unable to distinguish between a credit value and an intrinsic value. If the government could issue one five-dollar note that would buy boots, he could not see why there should be any limit to any note issue except a vague rhetorical limit described as a more or less certain issue *per capita*, an issue to be changed with every change in the mind of the government. The fallacy of an illustration like the following was beyond his detection: If A finds what he believes to be a ten-dollar gold-piece, but which is really a counterfeit, and if with this A pays his debt to B, and B his debt to C, and C his debt to D, and D his debt

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to A, then a counterfeit coin of no value whatever has paid four debts of ten dollars each. No gospel was ever preached more furiously than Mr. Mitchell preached theories of this kind. But he was intensely fond of the world as it stands, believed the Almighty knew what He was about in ordaining the many inexplicable things in life, and was in every way a man of his time. In fact, I have never known a Greenbacker who was otherwise than commonplace in his ideas of society and his methods for its improvement.

The "silk paper money" men who have lately appeared in Congress from the West, from the late Senator Stanford down, are the natural followers of Mr. Mitchell, his associates and predecessors. One of the most notable of them in Western public life is the Hon. John G. Otis, the gentlemanly Populist who went to Congress from the Fourth Kansas District in the place once held by the Hon. Thomas Ryan. Mr. Otis devoted a large part of his single term in Congress to introducing and discussing bills on the money question. He was graduated from Harvard University, was educated for the law, and practised it briefly, retreating from it soon on account of ill health. After many years in the dairy business, he arrived in the lower House of Congress. A likable characteristic of this gentleman is that of being a good fighter, and I venture to say that nothing would more quickly throw him into a fighting frame of mind than to accuse him of being a socialist. He is fond enough of considering himself a reformer, but he believes he is asking reform within orthodox lines. Substantially the same may be said of the other Kansas Congressmen who are in office by virtue of People's party votes.

The old Granger movement was really more practical in a socialistic direction than the People's party movement. The Grange was founded on the theory of the love of all for all, and it undertook to do paternal work in a commercial direction by establishing union stores, abolishing intermediate profits between producers and consumers, *etc.* I saw in the seventies processions of grangers three or four miles in length carrying banners on which appeared far more serious declarations than any which have ever appeared in People's party demonstrations. Some of them called for bread or blood; others anathematized the bankers and middlemen; others demanded cheap money; and still others threatened a general all-around fiery cataclysm in the event that something was not done to lighten the burdens of the people. The participants in the demonstrations of that time had burdens surely enough and were in earnest surely

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enough, as is true of the people making demonstrations at the present time. But then, as now, there were really no convictions in the minds of the agitators deserving to be dignified by the name of socialism.

The demand for the free coinage of silver (no matter whether it is a just demand or not), as it is now made under the leadership of the silver-producing States, most certainly shows no signs of a socialistic origin. This demand is made by those who own silver mines; those who labor in silver mines; those whose business is directly with the owners of and laborers in silver mines; those who believe that free coinage means free coin—at least to an extent which will enable them to get some; those who believe that there has actually been a contraction of the currency hurtful to the debtor class, which contraction free coinage will cure; those who sincerely believe in the possibility of a double standard; and, finally, those seeking to get or retain office, who believe the free silver side the safest one for them to take. All these classes are practically content with things in general as they now are. They belong to the Republican, the Democratic, or the other parties, as a rule, and are vigorous partisans. Senator Wolcott, a Republican, Senator Peffer, a Populist, and Senator Martin, a Democrat, go arm-in-arm near the head of the free silver procession. All three would quickly resent any charge that they are socialists.

It is true that in this silver cause, as in every other cause, some men exhibit a zeal which has clearly run mad. But this zeal, mad as it may be, cannot be tortured into the mighty moral devotion of the socialist. For example, the present Populist Secretary of State of Kansas, a Congregational minister in good standing, said recently in a newspaper interview that he would live on crusts and sleep on a beggar's bed if so doing would forward the cause of free coinage of silver. And then he seized his pen and wrote a remarkable letter. He addressed it to Chancellor Snow, of the State University, who has the honor of having discovered a method for killing the grain-destroying chinch-bug in western grain-fields by the application and distribution of contagious diseases. To Chancellor Snow the Secretary of State addressed the following letter—

"You are justly entitled to the gratitude of the agricultural world for one of the most important discoveries of modern times, in your most complete and successful plan for the extermination of the chinch-bug. Both hemispheres to-day lay their gratitude at your feet. I now write to call your attention to a pest that for twenty-five years has caused more destruction of property, ruined

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more homes, laid desolate more fields of activity, and brought more human suffering in its trail than all the pests, wars or famines since the plagues of Egypt. There is not a product of labor that this pest does not destroy. It has not only destroyed three-fourths of the income from the wheat crop, but the corn, oats, rye, cotton, vegetables, in short, everything that is produced from the soil; but its ravages stop not there. It has entered the domain of live-stock, and destroyed every vestige of profit in that field of employment. Yea, it has done more; it has eaten up one-half the value of all farms, covering three millions of square miles in this country alone. But this is not all. In spite of the efforts of the agricultural classes, it has covered the remainder of the value of those farms with a venomous substance called a mortgage; but it stops not here. It has covered a large majority of our village and city homes with the same deadly virus and will soon, unless exterminated, take them all. The daily papers are full of the records of its works—shutting down our factories, breaking our banks, ruining thousands of the brightest business-men, and turning thousands of men, women and children out in the streets to become tramps, beggars or criminals. If you will suggest a plan for the complete destruction of this destroyer and put it into practice, the unborn millions will eternally bless you. They will build a monument to your memory, whose base will be as broad as the earth and whose capital will reach the heavens. This fell destroyer is called the 'gold-bug.'—Yours in hope."

This burning hatred of the gold-bug, in spite of the author's violent championship of humanity, is certainly not socialistic, because there appears along with it an equally burning affection for the silver-bug. No great moral difference appears between the love for gold and the love for silver. And here it should be mentioned incidentally that if the West were to be convicted of socialism on account of its advocacy of free silver, the East would be condemned equally by the same process. Undoubtedly there are more believers in the free coinage of silver in the East than in the West, though not more in proportion to the total population. More silver mines are owned in the East than in the West. New York City has the greatest silver-mine owning population in the country.

In all the proposed changes of banking systems, nothing has appeared more radical than the semi-banking scheme of the Populists of two years ago in their demand for sub-treasuries. This demand had a socialistic look, inasmuch as it meant that the government should become practically the purchaser, or at least the guarantor, of the agricultural products of the country. But the cry for the sub-treasury cannot now be heard even in the silence of the night. When the People's party of the last Kansas legislature was listening to competitive speeches from candidates for the United States Senate, the men who claimed to be in favor of sub-treasuries were turned down for a life-long Democrat who told the caucus plainly

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that he was not for the sub-treasury scheme and did not believe his hearers were.

The Populists, in their various professions, have, up to date, shown signs of a strong belief in a paternal government, with all which that implies. They have wanted the Government to do everything, from storing grain, lending money, and owning railroads, to fixing hours of labor and the value of the commodities of commerce. This is why the public first laughed, then wept, at the grotesque spectacle of the Democratic party, in some of the Western States, surrendering its individuality to the Populist party in a fusion which became a merger. But the real paternalists of the People's party, if there are any, are the leaders who draw the platforms. The voters, so far in the party's history, have not known what they were doing. It is not socialism they have been pursuing. Rather it is hard times that they have been trying to escape. The demagogues who wanted offices have not dared to preach old-fashioned truth. They have not dared to advocate economy, a reduction of debts by the payment of them, a diversification of industries, and such time-honored remedies for a sick body politic; so they have advocated sundry specious doctrines nearly enough practicable to promise the people everything and far enough from practicable to be free of all danger of ever being tried. The members of the People's party, considered as a whole, would deny firmly that they are socialists. They say if the Republican party were only as good as it once was, they would vote with it. They do not ask a new Heaven or a new earth. All they want is more money. They are fast getting it, and the faster they get it the more reluctant they become to ride forty miles in a lumber-wagon through the rain to hear Mrs. Lease and General Weaver make speeches.

All phases of this discussion lead up to the subject of debt. In all stages of the development of the West there have been great mutations in the status of public and private debt. There have all along been periods of general default, succeeding times of readjustment, with here and there a clear case of repudiation. The commercial world seems to have no difficulty in distinguishing clearly between readjustment and repudiation. Every reorganization committee in New York and London bears witness to the propriety of readjustment under certain circumstances. Necessary readjustments have sometimes been wrongly called repudiation, though probably not often. Defaults and readjustments have recently characterized the

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business and financial history of the West. Much of all that is now immediately before us politically is due to this fact. For some years, all the Western country, including its southern States, was the field of great development and far greater speculation. Confidence in the West was unlimited, caution about it was uncommon, recklessness concerning it was prevalent. When the tide turned, Eastern capitalists, with equally reckless haste, withdrew all money possible from the West. This, added to already existing hardships, made the situation unprecedented and led to some real and much threatened improper legislation. This made a bad situation only worse, and the West was soon deprived of the capital which it had almost a moral right to depend on in furtherance of its legitimate growth. The Eastern capitalists having, as they felt, escaped from the West, turned with their money in hand to their near neighbors and bought at random whatever glittering bubbles the latter had to sell. In due time, and perhaps a little sooner, the bubbles did as bubbles do—they burst. "The last condition of this man was worse than the first." After pain in the West and agony in the East, what else could he do than hide his remnant in a strong-box? Then arose a general alarm among manufacturers for fear the party in power would keep its promise to slaughter the tariff. Merchants withheld their orders and the mills shut down. In addition to this, it may be safely asserted that the usual somewhat indefinite, but inevitable period, had arrived for the cancellation of part of the great volume of outstanding promises to pay in the commercial world at large. In Great Britain and all the fields of her vast financial ventures, including our own country, the time had come—and it has not yet altogether passed—for the general cancellation of hopeless promises to pay. All this and more brought distrust to all the people, and their dollars hid like frightened mice. Solvent banks broke and worthy institutions surrendered. Verdict: "A lack of confidence."

To this provocation of financial pressure are due the very recent financial manifestations in the West. But in them socialism has really not appeared. At no time for years have the labor unions been more careful than now about making broad demands. These unions do much in regard to coöperation within their own ranks, and the various trades are in some cases strongly allied to each other, to a degree which socialism might consider initiative of progress in its direction. But if a trades-union leader be asked whether it is his design to bring about a condition where there will be no competition,

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he reveals the fact that he has never had such a purpose. He will usually go on to say that there is a well-defined line drawn for all time beyond which there cannot possibly be a union of industrial interests, because they are naturally antagonistic. The typesetter and pressman can coöperate, he will say, but the typesetter and the pressman on one side can never coöperate with the papermakers, because the more money the papermakers get for their product the less there is left for those who do the printing. Thus the spokesman for the railway operatives will confess that he can see no hope for agreement with the farmer, because the more the pay for carrying products the less the net value of the products for the producer. No instance is yet on record in the West of any farm-laborer's admission that he is getting from the farm-owner satisfactory wages.

It is true that the farmers, especially the farmers of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's party, talk much in these times of union and coöperation; but in practice they all compete most diligently, and each is clearly and undeniably anxious for the private ownership of land and everything else—each man to be, as far as possible, himself the private owner. Every agency ever suggested by the People's party for the improvement of the condition of its members has been designed solely for the assistance of limited classes and of their attempts to prosper by present methods, without reference to the condition of those in other occupations. The present Populist Lieutenant-Governor of Kansas recently made a report to the Populist Governor on the results of his investigation of a strike of coal-miners in southeastern Kansas. In this report occurs the following—

"None realize more fully than yourself that our laws are the only expression we have for the judgment of a majority of our people, and their enforcement cannot be left to the caprice or depend upon the sympathy of any individual or executive or administration. The judgment of the majority cannot be rightly annulled by a failure to command the approval of any authority. They can be legitimately annulled only through the medium of the ballot-box, and when we decide to endorse or accept or commend other means then we have decided to substitute anarchy for law and chaos for order."

This is a centre shot at Governor Lewelling's course last winter, but it is certainly not socialism.

In brief, every demand for a change in the financial methods of the nation which has seemed to come in late years from the West, has been based almost wholly on the general financial embarrassment of many people. These people, so far as the West is concerned,

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have not been and are not prodigals, tramps or loafers. On the contrary, they have been and are people of personal worth. They have striven steadily for years to accumulate money and have failed. They are no doubt over-receptive to explanations of the causes of their failure, and incline too readily to any plausible remedy that is offered. But it still remains true that they are as satisfied as people ever were with the world as it is, and would be and continue practically happy if they could get fair wages and reasonable profits, and get them steadily. They are not conscious of having been to any material extent the authors of their own misfortunes, as is many times the case. All they ask is the society they have always known, with the prosperity they have from time to time enjoyed. This is not socialism.

CHARLES S. GLEED.

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WRITERS IN THE OCTOBER FORUM.

MR. DAVID A. WELLS (*The Downfall of Certain Financial Fallacies*), born in Massachusetts in 1828, was graduated from Williams College in 1847. After serving on the staff of the "Springfield Republican," he took the scientific course at Harvard as a special pupil of Louis Agassiz, and was an assistant at Harvard and a teacher of science at Groton until 1857. In 1864, he published "Our Burden and Our Strength," a political essay that excited much discussion in America and Europe. In 1867, after investigations in Europe as a member of a Government industrial commission, he became a free-trader. He has since served on several Government commissions, has assisted as an expert in managing railroads, and has achieved high rank as an authority by his writings on economic subjects.

DR. CARL PETERS (*Prospects of Africa's Settlement by Whites*), born about thirty-six years ago, started for Africa in 1884 to annex territory to Germany, and in 1885 obtained the first German imperial charter ever given to a colonial enterprise. In 1888 he made a treaty with King Mwanga, opened up the whole country from Lake Victoria to the Mpuapua country, met Emin Pasha, and was made by the German Emperor Imperial Commissioner in Africa. He negotiated subsequently the treaty ratifying the German frontier claims in the Kilimaonjaro district in Central Africa.

MR. HAMLIN GARLAND (*Literary Emancipation of the West*), by birth a Westerner, has written much for magazines and newspapers and is the author of several powerful and realistic works of fiction dealing with Western life. Among these are "Main-Travelled Roads," a collection of short stories about the Mississippi Valley; "Jason Edwards"; "A Spoil of Office"; "A Member of the Third House," a vigorous story of American legislation and the lobby; and "Prairie Folks."

BISHOP ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD (*The Black Shadow in the South*), born in Georgia in 1839, was graduated from Emory College in 1859 and became a Methodist preacher. From 1870 to 1875 he edited the Sunday-school publications of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and in 1876 he was made president of Emory College. From 1878 to 1882 he edited the "Wesleyan Christian Advocate," and he was subsequently elected a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In 1883 he was appointed general agent of the "John F. Slater Fund" for the education of negroes in the Southern States, and he has worked actively in many ways for the progress of the negro race. He is the author of several books.

MR. CHARLES HENRY SMITH (*Have American Negroes too much Liberty?*), born in Georgia in 1826, was graduated from Franklin College, and in 1848 became a lawyer in Athens, Ga. He served in the Confederate Army, in 1866 was made a State Senator, and in 1868 became Mayor of Rome, Georgia. He began his literary career in 1861 with a series of newspaper letters, under the signature of "Bill Arp," which enjoyed a wide popularity. He is also a successful lecturer. His published works include "Bill Arp's Letters" and "Bill Arp's Scrap-book."

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON (*The Revival of the Drama*), was born in 1831, and in 1853 was elected fellow and tutor at Oxford. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school, is a critic of authority and a master of English prose-style. Among his works are "The Meaning of History," "Social Statics," "Order and

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Progress," and "Oliver Cromwell." His critical papers in THE FORUM on art and literature have attracted wide attention.

PROFESSOR EDWARD S. HOLDEN (*The Wonderful New Star of 1892*), born in 1846, was graduated from the scientific school of Washington University in 1866 and from West Point in 1870. He served as artillery lieutenant, professor of philosophy at West Point and instructor in engineering, until 1873. He has since achieved distinction as an astronomer. In 1881 he became professor of astronomy in the University of Wisconsin and in 1886 president of the University of California and director of the Lick observatory on Mount Hamilton, an office he still holds.

MR. ISAAC L. RICE (*Public Business and the Right to Steal*), born in 1850, is a graduate of the Columbia Law School. He established the Academy of Political Science, and was a lecturer on law in Columbia from 1883 to 1886. He has contributed articles on political economy and philosophy to the principal reviews, is president of THE FORUM Publishing Company, and has taken a leading part in protecting the interests of security holders in the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad.

MR. ERNEST HART (*Medical Etiquette, Quacks and Secret Remedies*) is a distinguished English medical expert, Editor of the "British Medical Journal" and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Medical Association. He has received the degree of D.C.L. (*Hon. Causa*), is a member of several leading scientific societies, and was a delegate to the recent Pan-American Medical Congress at Washington.

COLONEL CARROLL D. WRIGHT (*Cheaper Living and the Rise of Wages*), born in 1840, was admitted to the bar in 1865. He served in the State senate of Massachusetts in 1871–72; was Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor from 1873 to 1888; was appointed in 1880 supervisor of the United States census in Massachusetts and in 1885 Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor at Washington, a post he still holds, and has filled many other public offices.

PROFESSOR R. OGDEN DOREMUS (*Can Chemical Analysis Convict Poisoners?*), born in New York in 1824, was graduated at New York University in 1842. He was elected professor of chemistry in the New York College of Pharmacy in 1849, received the degree of M.D. in 1850, was one of the founders of the New York Medical College, and in 1861 was appointed professor of chemistry and toxicology in Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He has been also for thirty years professor of chemistry and physics in the College of the City of New York. He has introduced radical changes in the system of medical jurisprudence, and is one of the foremost toxicological experts in the country.

MR. FRANK BASIL TRACY (*Rise and Doom of the Populist Party*), born in Iowa, was graduated from the State University of Iowa in 1888, and immediately entered journalism, connecting himself with several Iowa papers and becoming an editorial writer for the "Omaha Bee," and special Western correspondent for other leading newspapers. While occupying these positions he has prosecuted a thorough study of Western social and political movements.

MR. CHARLES S. GLEED (*The True Significance of Western Unrest*), born in Vermont in 1856, was educated at the University of Kansas. He entered journalism, and became editor-in-chief of the Denver "Daily Tribune." He was subsequently engaged in the traffic department of the Union Pacific and Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé railroads, and was for several years assistant to General-Solicitor Peck in the law department of the latter company. He has written much on current political, economic and educational topics.

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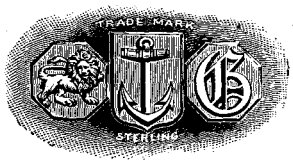

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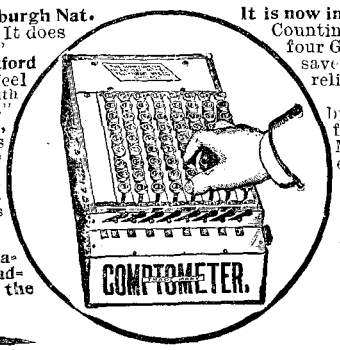

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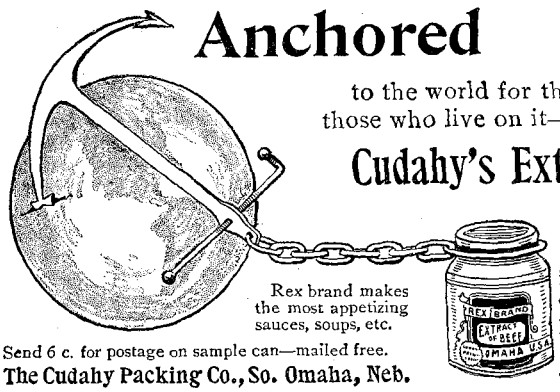

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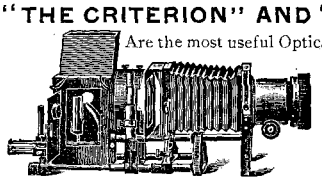

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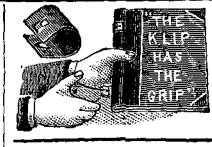

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